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## FATHER JOSEPH NEUMANN, JESUIT MISSIONARY TO THE TARAHUMARES<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the lasting work of the Jesuit missionaries in New Spain, it can be said that more is known of the field than of the laborers in it. Especially do those who were not diverted from the all-important routine work of the missions to the more spectacular tasks of pioneering and exploration remain as obscure ciphers.

The discovery of certain documents by Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Dr. Peter M. Dunne has, however, made possible the reconstruction in some detail of the life of one of these everyday missionaries.<sup>2</sup> Father Joseph Neumann, the man

<sup>1</sup> In his letters he signs himself Joseph Neumann. In his *Historia Seditio-num* he is called P. Josepho Neymanno. This is not merely a Latinization, or at least not a good one; for whereas "eu" is a possible, though rare, Latin combination, "ey" is impossible. Remembering his Belgian origin, it is possible that his name was originally Neymann and that he was remembered in Prague, where the book was printed, by that name, he himself having Teutonized his name into Neumann. On the other hand, it may be that his colleagues had changed Neymann to Neumann during his stay in Bohemia and that he decided to revert to his original name when he became an author.

<sup>2</sup> The chief sources for a study of Neumann are as follows:—(a) His letters. These are:

(I) Letter to an unknown priest in Bohemia, dated 15 January, 1681, from the mission of San Ignacio Goyachic among the Tarahumares. Copy transcribed with many errors in the Archives of Moravia, Brno, MSS. No. 557, Vol. VI.

(II) Letter to an unknown priest in Bohemia, dated 20 February, 1682, from the mission of Santa María Sisoguichic among the Tarahumares. There are two known copies of this letter: one in the Strahov Monastery, Prague, DH IV, 5; the other in the library of Dr. E. Lange, of Broumov, Bohemia, and numbered KIA 30, MS. 410.

in question, labored for over fifty years in a particularly difficult territory, seeing revolt after revolt, and holding on amidst all the turmoil created by the clash of two civilizations, whilst others applied for transfer to the easier spheres of Lower California or the Pimas. Yet, as he received neither the dignity of a martyr nor the distinction of an explorer, he has been given passing mention only by Alegre<sup>3</sup> and Astrain.<sup>4</sup>

His letters, the chief source of information for this paper, contain, naturally enough, but few data on Neumann's own early life. Beyond the facts that he was born in Brussels in the year 1648, that on some day after April 15, he went from Brussels to Vienna, and that in 1663 he was admitted to

(III) Letter to Stowasser, dated 29 July, 1686, from Santa María Sisoguichic. Published in Joseph Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott, mit allerhand nachrichten dern Missionarium Soc. Jesu: Allerhand so lehr als Geist-Reiche Briefe Schriften und Reis-Beschreibungen welches von denen Missionaris der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beiden Indien und andern Ober Meer gelegen Landern Seit an 1642 bis aus das Jahr 1726, in Europa angelangt seynd.* Angsburg und Graz, 1728. The documents are numbered consecutively throughout the several volumes of the work. Neumann's letter to Stowasser is No. 32 in Volume I.

(IV) Letter to Simón de Castro (Simón Bordhradsky), temporal coadjutor in Mexico City, dated 6 July, 1693, from Echoguita. An original in the Archives of Moravia, Brno, MSS. No. 556, Vol. VI, leaf, 19 fol.

(V) Letter to an unknown person, dated 23 April, 1698, from Carichic. In Austria, Staatsarchiv, Jesuitica, No. 294.

No. III and part of No. IV are in German. The rest are in Latin. In the rest of this paper No. III is cited as *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32. The rest are cited by date.

(b) Neumann's history of the revolt of the Tarahumares, entitled *Historia Seditionum quas adversus Societatis Jesu Missionaris, Eorumque; Auxiliares Moverunt Nationis Indicae, ac potissimum Tarahumara in America Septentrionali, Regnoque Novae Cantabriae, iam toto ad fidem Catholicam propemodum redacto, Authore P. Josepho Neymanno Ejusdem Societatis Jesu in Partibus Tarrahumarorum Missionario.* Pragae, Typis Univers. Carolo Ferd. Soc. Jesu, ad S. Clem. No date. The dedication is dated 1 May, 1723, and a prefatory letter is dated 15 April, 1724. I have been allowed to use transcripts of half a dozen letters and a photostat copy of the *Historia* through the courtesy of Dr. H. E. Bolton, of the University of California, who is hoping to publish them in the near future.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España que estaba escribiendo el P. Francisco Javier Alegre al tiempo de su expulsión.* 3 vols. Mexico, 1841-1842. See III, 149.

<sup>4</sup> El P. Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, VII (Madrid, 1925), 311.



the Society of Jesus in the Province of Bohemia, we know nothing.<sup>5</sup>

Ten years later, the Society entered upon a period of exceptional activity in the missionary field, a period which lasted from 1673 to 1687.<sup>6</sup> In 1677, the procurators of Mexico and the Philippines sent to Spain and thence to Rome to ask for a grant of funds and for permission to call for volunteers for an extension of the limits of their respective provinces. They were granted forty men for the Philippines and twenty for Mexico.<sup>7</sup> Neumann was one of those who volunteered for the Indian mission and, on April 11, 1678, he left Prague for Spain.<sup>8</sup>

By way of Genoa and the Mediterranean he journeyed to Seville.<sup>9</sup> The next two years he spent in Spain, an interval which was a very necessary preliminary to the beginning of actual missionary work, offering opportunities for the learning of the Spanish language and for the acquiring of the tricks of the trade from such already experienced missionaries as he met at the Seville hostel. Apart from their spiritual duties, the recruits had to strive to equip themselves with the rudiments of the various handicrafts essential to a pioneer and, along with others of more humble origin, a baron of Hungary and sometime imperial page learned to blow bottles, carve wood, solder tin, sew clothes and furs, make trinkets, and perform a hundred and one other tasks.<sup>10</sup>

Neumann left Seville on March 25, 1680, and with others, went to Cádiz. Setting sail on July 11, he suffered almost immediate shipwreck as a clumsy helmsman put the boat aground. Twenty-three prospective missionaries, some for

<sup>5</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, dedication. In a prefatory letter to the Father Provincial of the Province of Bohemia, dated 15 April, 1724, he says he is in his seventy-sixth year, and in the dedication he says he was born in 1648.

<sup>6</sup> Astrain, *op. cit.*, VI, 453-454.

<sup>7</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 15. *Welt Bott*, I, No. 31. Cf. Alegre, *op. cit.*, III, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, Preface.

<sup>9</sup> See the map on p. 7 of an unpublished thesis by Edward Theodore Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to America (1678-1756) as recorded in the Travel Diaries of German Jesuits." MS., University of California. Berkeley, 1934.

<sup>10</sup> Father John Ratkay to the Father Provincial of Austria, Mexico City, 16 November, 1680, in *Welt Bott*, I, No. 28. Father Adam Gerstl to his father, 14 July, 1681, in *Welt Bott*, I, No. 31. Treutlein, *op. cit.*, chap. V.

the Mexican and some for the Philippine province, had been on board that one vessel, and the problem of attempting to redistribute them amongst the already crowded craft which formed the rest of the fleet proved insuperable. In all, accommodation could be found for only eleven of the shipwrecked fathers, and of these Neumann was the last to find a place.<sup>11</sup>

Like most other travelers in those days he suffered certain hardships on the voyage to Vera Cruz.<sup>12</sup> His traveling companion on shipboard was Father John Strobach, but once on land he was joined by Father Joseph Ratkay, with whom he made his way to Mexico City.<sup>13</sup> They arrived at the capital on October 10, and stayed there until November 18.<sup>14</sup>

The question of assigning the newcomers to some part of the vast province was now debated. They were allowed a certain liberty of choice, being told that they could go to either Sinaloa, Sonora, Tópia, or Tarahumara. Neumann chose the latter because he thought it would prove the harder task.<sup>15</sup>

There was much to justify his belief. The Tarahumares, located in the Sierra Madre of the present state of Chihuahua, for geographical and other reasons, had been little touched as the tide of Spanish conquest flowed past along the western coastal plain.<sup>16</sup> Onãte was probably in touch with them<sup>17</sup> in

<sup>11</sup> *Welt Bott*, I, Nos. 28, 30, 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 28.

<sup>13</sup> Ratkay was by birth a baron of Hungary and had been an imperial page in Vienna before joining the Society of Jesus (*Welt Bott*, I, No. 31). On arrival in Mexico he was sent to the mountain mission of Guerucarichic, in the Sierra Madre of what is now S. W. Chihuahua (Neumann, letter of 2 February, 1682). Ill health necessitated his transference to the less rigorous climate of Carichic, where he died in December, 1683 (Neumann, *Historia*, fols. 16-17). There were some rumors of poison which Neumann, however, discounted (*Welt Bott*, I, No. 33).

<sup>14</sup> Neumann, letter of 15 January, 1681 (*Welt Bott*, I, No. 28).

<sup>15</sup> *Historia*, fol. 16v., e.g. *vuelto*.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America* (New York, 1930), chaps. III and XIII; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1884), I, chaps. V, XII, and XIII; Fr. Francisco Frejes, *Historia Breve de los Estados Independientes del Imperio Mejicano*. Zacatecas, 1838.

<sup>17</sup> *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and the Approaches thereto, to 1773*; collected by Adolph F. A. and Fanny R. Bandelier, and edited by Charles Wilson Hackett (Washington, D. C., 1923), I, 234.



1595 and twelve years later Father Juan de Fonte visited them and attempted some conversions.<sup>18</sup> In 1613, he made a second visit on a like errand.<sup>19</sup>

Such efforts were sporadic and yielded no permanent results. But the founding of Parral in 1632, and the rapid opening up of the silver mines of that district, saw a concentration of missionary activity. As early as 1630-1631, Fathers Juan de Heredia and Gabriel Díaz had formed, some miles south of Parral and just within the limits of the modern state of Durango, the pueblos of San Miguel de las Bocas and San Gabriel. These two establishments for some years seem to have sufficed.<sup>20</sup> In 1639, however, Gerónimo Figueroa and José Pascual were sent to attempt the Christianization of the more difficult regions to the north and west. In spite of frequent unrest, caused partly by the real oppressions of the Spaniards and partly by the inevitable readjustments necessitated by the clash of two cultures, they had some success, forming villages and making many converts. The unrest culminated in a series of risings which, between 1648 and 1652, resulted in the martyrdom of Father Cornelio Godínez or Beudin, June 4, 1650, and of Father Antonio Jacome Basilio, March 3, 1652, and in the destruction of several mission buildings. Following this the mountain missions were for long abandoned, work being continued only at those missions which were near Parral and easily protected.<sup>21</sup>

No fresh beginning in the mountain district proper was made until 1673, and it was not until 1675 that Father Tomás de Guadalajara revisited the ruins of the once important Papigochic. Bad weather and the uncertain temper of the natives combined to make the whole thing a very risky business. Father Tomás was threatened with death, and the rigor of a first winter forced the withdrawal of another newcomer,

<sup>18</sup> Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 184.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 44.

<sup>20</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 7. Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 220-221. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States* (ed. 1884), I, 333-336.

<sup>21</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, cap. I. Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 221-236, 365-383, 392-398; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 346-361; Astrain, *op. cit.*, V, 349-350. *Varones Ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2d ed. (Bilbao, 1889), III, 468-472, 473-477; Antanasio G. Saravia, *Los Misioneros muertos en el Norte de Nueva España* (Durango, 1920), pp. 56-58, 58-60.

Father Fernando de Barrionuevo.<sup>22</sup> It was slow and disheartening work, but the policy of allowing the natives to choose for themselves and the refusal of the assistance of armed force began gradually to bear fruit. Reinforcements were needed to reap the harvest. And Neumann and Ratkay were to be those reinforcements.<sup>23</sup>

They left the capital on November 18, and faced the long journey to the north. Enroute, their fare was of the roughest and often they slept with nothing but the ground for a mattress and the sky for a roof. Zacatecas was reached about December 7, and from thence they passed to Durango. There they were entertained by the Bishop of Nueva Viscaya, and waited until a score of laymen were gathered to attempt the next stage of the journey, dangerous by reason of hostile and apostate Indians. Although there were signs of the recent presence of such enemies at various points of the trail, they reached Papasquiario in safety. There they were entertained by tourneys and bull-fights, and, under armed escort, conducted round the Papasquiario missions. Two days later five Spaniards were ambushed and slain on that very road.

Between Papasquiario and Parral they had two narrow escapes but finally reached the latter place in safety early in January, 1681. Stopping only to pay their respects to the governor, they pushed on to San Francisco de Borja, first of the missions of New Tarahumara and, in a sense, journey's end.<sup>24</sup> On January 3, they visited the mission of San Bernabé and the following day that of San Ignacio Goyachic, where

<sup>22</sup> Barrionuevo was a Creole and died shortly after his withdrawal (Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 12v.).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. II; Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 463-475, III, 10-12; Baneroft, *op. cit.*, I, 362-363; Astrain, *op. cit.*, VI, 479-482. Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 19v., says that eight missionaries were appointed (1673) but one died and three others withdrew. Alegre, *op. cit.*, II, 462-472, mentions nine, one of whom withdrew. Fathers Salvatierra, Zappa, and Foronda came out in 1675 and were sent among the Guazápares and Varohios on the western limits of Tarahumara (Alegre, *op. cit.*, III, 12, 25-27). Miguel Venegas, *Juan María Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus* (trans. and ed. by Marguerite Eyre Wilbur, Cleveland, 1912), p. 33. About the same time, Fathers Nicolás de Prado and Ferdinando Pecoro were sent among the Chínipas and Guasápares (Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 10v. and fol. 11). By 1686, there were fourteen missionaries in the Tarahumara field (*Welt Bott*) and yet the necessity for more was deeply felt (Neumann, letter of 15 September, 1693).

<sup>24</sup> Neumann, letter of 15 January, 1681 (*Welt Bott*, I, No. 29).



they found the missionary who was acting as the father visitor of the Tarahumara missions. There they stayed for some weeks learning the rudiments of the native tongue.<sup>25</sup>

Neumann was now able to take stock of the country and of his people. He found himself in a wild region of high mountains and deep barrancas, a rugged country where roads were either rough or non-existent. Such roads as did exist were often too steep for horses, wound round the rims of precipices, and were liable to be rendered impassable either by the summer rains or the winter snows. It was a stormy region where chilling winds and heavy snows made the winters a severe trial and where only a man of Neumann's magnificent physique and steadfast determination could have held out for fifty years.<sup>26</sup> He says, not without a touch of pride, that he had been selected because a German was expected to do the work of twelve ordinary men.<sup>27</sup>

The native people he describes as a sturdy race, about middle height, swarthy rather than dark in complexion, and fleet of foot. Their dress was of the simplest. All went bare-headed and bare of foot.<sup>28</sup> The usual dress of the men was a simple loin cloth, but sometimes

they wore a garment which is put on over the head; it resembled a dalmatic without sleeves. In place of a cloak they wrap themselves in a square rug, and, thus dressed, they look like the pictures of the apostles and prophets.<sup>29</sup>

The dress of the women was no more elaborate, and the children usually went naked.<sup>30</sup>

Like their dress, their dwellings were of the simplest, being roughly adapted caves or structures of clay and wattle,

<sup>25</sup> The Jesuits are said to have paid far more attention than the Franciscans to the mastering of the native languages (*Hist. Docs. New Mexico*, I, 121, King to Viceroy, 1597). The *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Landern des Spanischen Amerika* (Halle, 1809-1811), pp. 293-388, included a Tarahumarisches Wörterbuch by P. Matthäus Steel.

<sup>26</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 75v., letter, 15 January, 1681, fol. 4, and letter, 2 February, 1682, fol. 4 (bad roads); fols. 24 and 25 (suffering from snows); *ibid.*, fols. 10 and 25 (floods); *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32 (thunder storms).

<sup>27</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 16v.

<sup>28</sup> Neumann, letter, 15 January, 1681, fol. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Letter, 20 February, 1682, fol. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, and letter of 15 January, 1681, fol. 4.

so low that it was necessary to creep on hands and knees to enter them. In the case of such huts each man built his house about gunshot from that of his neighbors. Abodes of this sort were easily abandoned and hence arose one of the difficulties of the missionary in dealing with this people. Those communities that lived together were united by the marriage tie through the female line, daughters being given in wedlock on condition that the man live with his wife's parents.<sup>31</sup>

Their chief food was maize which they ate as cakes and as a sort of porridge. They also planted beans and raised chickens. Sheep and horses were fairly numerous. The wool of the former they wove themselves. The horses were sold to the Spaniards in exchange for cloth, axe-heads, or trinkets.<sup>32</sup>

As a people they were generally well-behaved, although very resentful of oppression. Neumann soon discovered that they could not be driven, although they could easily be led. Their chief failings, in his eyes, were their dislike for regular toil, polygamy,<sup>33</sup> and frequent drunkenness.<sup>34</sup> This did not indicate any lack of intelligence, for they were adept in the discovery of new ways to commit old sins.<sup>35</sup>

Neumann was now appointed to the remote mission of Sisoguichic, in a district where none before him had been able to withstand the severity of the climate. In early March he left Goyachic for Guerucarichic where he joined Father Bernardo Rolandegui, who was to accompany him to his new home and introduce him to his flock.

<sup>31</sup> Letter of 15 January, 1681, fol. 4 (caves and wattle huts); letter of 20 February, 1682, fol. 2 (marriage custom). But this seems inconsistent with his continual complaints against polygamy.

<sup>32</sup> Letter 15 January, 1681, *passim*; letter, 20 February, 1682, fols. 2 and 5.

<sup>33</sup> Letter of 15 January, 1681, fol. 1; letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 3 and 7; *Historia*, fols. 25v., 26, and 71.

<sup>34</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 3, 8-9 (*Welt Bott*, I, No. 32).

<sup>35</sup> On all this, see also Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I, 571-591, III, 665-667; Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México* (México, 1864), pt. I, cap. VII, and pt. III, cap. XXI; Carlos Basauri, *Monografía de los Tarahumaras* (México, 1927)—the photographs in this work show the Tarahumares much as Neumann must have seen them; Carl Sauer, *Distribution of aboriginal Languages and Tribes in northwest Mexico* (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 58, 78-79; Ralph L. Beals, *The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750* (Berkeley, 1932), pp. 127, 135, 140-142, and 144; Frederick Schwatka, *In the Land of the Cave and Cliff Dwellers*. New York, 1893.



They were met, some five miles from Guerucarichic, by the chief man and four leading men of his new community, who acted as a bodyguard for the rest of the journey. A short distance from the deserted mission church a double triumphal arch of boughs had been erected over the trail, and near the two hovels which served as place of worship and missionary's home was assembled a crowd of people. Whilst the rest gazed curiously on, the chief brought gifts of small cakes of maize, eggs, and beans, and then Rolandegui, more familiar with the language, undertook to explain to them the conditions on which their new missionary would remain. Briefly these were the building, as soon as possible, of a new church and house, the sending of the children for instruction, and the bringing in of those not yet baptized.<sup>36</sup>

These terms were accepted and, as an earnest of good will, the church and house were completed in three weeks, in time to allow the father to say the first Mass on Easter Sunday. After the Mass he ordered the slaughter of two of the thirty head of cattle provided by the father-provincial and gave a feast.<sup>37</sup>

It was now time to settle down to the humdrum routine of mission life. Rolandegui had left after a stay of only one day, as he was anxious about some of his people who were sick, and Neumann was left alone with his Indians. He, speaking their language but haltingly,<sup>38</sup> and having been in their country scarce three months, was as strange to them as they were to him, for the remote mountain valley had experienced but little contact with Europeans. The population was not large, consisting of about sixty families scattered on three leagues of land along the river bank. He was, however, expected to care for the families in four neighboring valleys, so that his time was fully occupied.<sup>39</sup>

In his work of saving souls Neumann concentrated on the children.

Twice daily I gathered them into the Church. In the morning, after Mass I repeated with them the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the

<sup>36</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 4-5.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fol. 4

Credo, the precepts of the Decalogue, the Sacraments of the Church, and the rudiments of the Christian doctrine; I had brought these with me in a translation into the Tarahumara tongue, and I repeated them from the written text. In the evening I reviewed the lesson and also asked the children questions from the Catechism. At the same time I gave instruction to those who were still pagan, acquainting them with the principal mysteries of the Faith, and preparing them to receive baptism. The rest of the day was spent in visiting the sick and hearing confessions—although, to be sure, I heard but few—or in assisting the builders and directing their operations. For in these countries, the fathers themselves are the only architects and the Indians the only masons.<sup>40</sup>

Father Neumann's home, when completed, consisted of three rooms, a central one which served as a refectory, and opening from this, at one end a storeroom and at the other a bedroom. The walls were of sun-dried brick and the roof of clay tiles. The floors were of beaten earth and the whole place void of decoration. And yet, simple though it was, it was the most elaborate place in the whole valley.<sup>41</sup>

Several yards from the house was built a small kitchen where, once each week, a native woman came to bake the father's supply of bread.<sup>42</sup> Apart from this one woman, his only servants were two boys who served at table and assisted at the Mass. One of them was an orphan, but the other presented difficulties. The Indians being fond of their children to the point of foolish indulgence, the boy had to be treated very carefully or else his parents were likely to take him away. The father, from his scanty stores, had to clothe and feed the boys, and also strove to instruct them sufficiently to lead in worship whenever he should be absent.<sup>43</sup>

But Father Neumann was soon to discover that his absences were more likely to be seized upon as opportunities for communal intoxication than as occasions for public prayer. Thus, in December, 1685, he was invited to celebrate the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus at a distant mission in charge of Father Francisco María Picolo, a Sicilian. As soon as the natives heard of this they began secretly to prepare supplies

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 5-6.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fol. 6.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*



of liquor in preparation for a drinking festival to be held as soon as the father left. Their whole party, however, was disrupted by an unforeseen equine vagary, for but two hours' journey from the village the horse of Neumann's boy-servant in some way broke loose, and, pursued by the father, trotted back to the village. Neumann found the place strangely deserted, but finally discovered the whole population in a nearby valley, going through those songs and dances which were the indispensable preliminary to thorough intoxication. Indignantly unexpected, he galloped his horse amongst them, its hoofs shattering fourteen large vessels containing some two hundred quarts of the native beverage. At this sudden and vengeful irruption such as were able fled, leaving only some oldsters, mouths agape and jaws hanging, to face the fury amidst their alcoholic puddle.<sup>44</sup>

Leaving sundry threats and warnings behind him, he then departed for the second time and did not return from Father Picolo's until January 6, 1686. He soon found evidence that the Indians had spent the meantime in preparing a second supply of wine. Two old women were sent to warn him, through the medium of the confessional, that the natives had sworn death to anyone who should interfere with their traditional festivities. One hinted that Father Ratkay had been poisoned because of such temerity. Neumann pretended to be greatly worried, but that same night he wrapped himself in a serape, tied a band around his head, and, dressed like any native, made his way to the place of meeting, accompanied only by one boy.

Once there he sat down in their midst, waiting until a huge fire was lighted and the preliminaries under way before he cast aside his disguise and revealed himself. This second surprise, coupled with the vigor with which he took to overturning the jars, caused a scamper back to the village, leaving only four chief men to face the angry Neumann. At his anger they smiled, at his scolding they grinned. They gazed at him in admiration as they jokingly ridiculed each other on the success of his disguise. Neumann's stock was definitely up.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

Apart from such drinking parties, his other worries were the almost ineradicable polygamy,<sup>46</sup> and such lapses from the Faith as the sacrifice of children in an attempt to win the good will of the thunder.

But such things, along with sun and moon worship and the deaths without confession from drunken fits or frenzies,<sup>47</sup> paled into insignificance before his most difficult and most important task, that of gathering the people into villages—the typical *reducciones* of the Spanish *padres*. It would be easy to demonstrate the economic aspect of this practice, the unfortunate way in which it facilitated the exploitation of the natives by the Spaniards, enabling them to draw their labor supply from one large lake instead of from several little puddles. Neumann deplored and regretted this as much as anyone.<sup>48</sup> But in the task of saving souls it was essential, for the better convenience of the administration of the sacraments, that the Indians should be gathered into villages. Scattered into many inaccessible places, new-born babes died unbaptized and sinners unconfessed, whilst opportunities for relapse were many. For such reasons the fathers took as their first and all important task “the winning of the Indians from the mountains and caves where they live like wild beasts.”<sup>49</sup>

It was a difficult business. For the Indians to yield meant both surrender to the Spaniard and the loss of those distinctive sins which signified their independence. Twice at least during his first year Neumann was demanding of his people that they gather into villages.<sup>50</sup> Always some recalcitrants preferred their mountain cave and pagan pleasure.<sup>51</sup> In his letter of 1686 the difficulty of forming villages still sounds as *leit motif*,<sup>52</sup> and in 1693 the like lament goes on:

As wandering sheep, or like wild beasts they live in lairs and caves. Unless one makes an effort to tame them in these hiding places, and draw them forth, attempts to win them to baptism are in vain.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See note 33.

<sup>47</sup> See *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 76.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of 15 January, 1681, fol. 4. Cf. *Historia*, fol. 7, and letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 2 and 7.

<sup>50</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 10 and 12.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 13; *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32.

<sup>52</sup> *Welt Bott*, I, No. 32.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of 15 September, 1693.



Pestilence and famine were but complications of the task. These could be of sufficient severity to decimate whole populations. Throughout such periods, Neumann worked heroically, carrying what comfort confession could bring to the dying and attempting, with resources always insufficient for the charge, to give sustenance to populations avid even for rats, mice, insects, and roots.<sup>54</sup> The occasional non-arrival of the funds allotted by the royal treasury,<sup>55</sup> and quarrels, like arguments in midstream, with the Franciscans,<sup>56</sup> did not serve to make matters easier.

Against this background always the stage directions read "alarums and excursions." Always there is a smoldering discontent likely to burst into burning missions, under whose glow more martyrs would be added to the lengthening list. During his first year the danger made itself evident to Neumann.

Busied with his preliminary baptisms of 1681 he received warning from Fathers Pecoro and Prado, his neighbors to the west in Chínipas, that they had evidence of a conspiracy in which some of his own people were involved. The head was thought to be a man of some importance lately punished for polygamy. The betrayal of the plot and the rapid arrival of a military force from Sinaloa removed immediate danger, and the chief malcontent was borne away in chains.<sup>57</sup>

In August of the same year, Neumann became professed of the four vows, going to Matachic for that purpose.<sup>58</sup> Others were there to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption, and the opportunity of meeting with his own kind was welcome. Of his return to Sisoguichic he says, with somewhat of a sigh, "The other fathers required two or three days for their homeward journey; I needed four for mine."<sup>59</sup>

Almost immediately Matachic, the scene of happiness and

<sup>54</sup> Letters of 20 February, 1682, fols. 11 and 12, and of 15 September, 1693, and 23 April, 1698 (famine); letters of 6 July, and 15 September, 1693, and *Historia*, fol. 27 (plague).

<sup>55</sup> Letters of 20 February, 1682, and 6 July, 1693.

<sup>56</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 14-15, and 23; letter of 23 April, 1698; *cf.*, Alegre, *op. cit.*, III, 16-18.

<sup>57</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 7-8.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 12.

celebrations, became the source of a fresh scare. Father Tomás de Guadalajara, missionary of that place and acting rector of all the missions of New Tarahumara, was at that time a very sick man, and many of his suspicions were later assigned to this cause. However, it seemed to him that signs of coming trouble were evident amongst his Indians. They attended more drinking bouts than church services, and were more diligent in the manufacture of poisoned arrows than in the making of confession.

The first intimation that Father Neumann had of any trouble was when he was aroused one morning shortly before dawn by the deliverer of a message ordering him to go at once to San Francisco de Borja. Very puzzled, he nevertheless obeyed at once, and when he passed through Guerucari-chic he was informed that Ratkay had left two days earlier. In San Francisco he found a general state of alarm, and learned that, a few days previously, the father-rector, Guadalajara, had fled precipitately from Matachic thither, covering the not inconsiderable distance of forty leagues in one day. Unsatisfied by a denial of any danger from the captain-general of all the Tarahumares, he had issued orders for all the missionaries of Upper Tarahumara to be summoned to San Francisco, whilst he himself pushed on to Parral to ask for troops. Meanwhile, Father Celada, who was left in charge, had summoned before him the head men of Matachic and Papigochic, the places principally under suspicion. They, like those from other places, denied all possibility of danger, and promised to punish any of their people who could be shown to intend any evil against the missionaries.<sup>60</sup>

Neumann and the others, therefore, wrote to Guadalajara at Parral informing him that everything was quite safe. They then returned to their missions, only to receive, from the security of the presidio, a reply voicing further suspicions and bidding them be ever on their guard.<sup>61</sup>

Answering hurried summons to distant conferences was not, however, the most efficient way of watching over subtle and resourceful natives. From Sisoguichic, Neumann

<sup>60</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fols. 15-18.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 18-20.



shrewdly wrote to Father Nicolás Prado<sup>62</sup> in the neighboring missions. From him he learned that a certain pagan, Carosias by name, had seized the opportunity offered by the absence of the fathers, by dissatisfaction in the neighboring missions, and by the resentment of the head men of Sisoguichic who had been flogged by one of the Sicilian fathers when discovered as a guest at a drinking party,<sup>63</sup> to attempt to persuade various communities to desert their settled homes and return to their old life amongst the mountain caves. However, it argues well for the fathers that the only community which accepted the invitation was that of Santa Ana, amongst the Varohios, where there had been no missionary for some time. Although they refused to return even when promised a new missionary, this seems to have been the full extent of the damage.<sup>64</sup>

During the next few years, in spite of all alarms, Neumann continued and extended his work. As early as 1681, he had visited the neighboring valley of Echoguita, now called Bo-coyna, and had established there a church which grew to be an important satellite of Sisoguichic.<sup>65</sup> The reputation which he soon established, and the esteem in which his little community soon grew to hold him, can be seen in the difference in the conditions revealed by his letters of 1682 and 1693. By the latter date the willing contributions of the Indians, and the assistance of a benefactor amongst the Spanish miners,<sup>66</sup> had transformed the mud and wattle hovel of 1681 into two churches, well equipped with vessels of gold and silver and altar frontals of silk and damask, and comparing favorably with any in Tarahumara.<sup>67</sup> He himself had been twice chosen rector of a group of the Tarahumara missions and on one occasion delegated to make a visit of some urgency to the viceroy.<sup>68</sup> Yet his own wants remained of the simplest. What he most desired were German or Bohemian farmers to train

<sup>62</sup> Pecoro had been transferred to Sinaloa (*ibid.*, fol. 21).

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 8-9.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 20-21.

<sup>65</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fol. 13.

<sup>66</sup> This person, named Pablo, was born in New Mexico and returned there in 1693 (letter of 6 July, 1693, fol. 2; cf. letter of 15 September, 1693, and *Historia*, fols. 26 and 37v.).

<sup>67</sup> Letter of 15 September, 1693.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

the Indians in the proper cultivation of the land,<sup>69</sup> but failing that, he would be satisfied with a candlestick and some tinfoil for his church.<sup>70</sup>

The years between 1681 and 1690 had also seen a northward extension of Spanish mining activities and, about 1687, a vast influx, in and near Tarahumara, of Spaniards of all classes in a seventeenth-century gold rush. The conscription of Indians for work in the mines and for the construction of buildings, the denudation of the timber lands, and the appropriation of grazing lands, all led to great unrest which culminated in a formidable rising in 1690.<sup>71</sup>

In that year, a Concho cattle raid was joined by the Tarahumara inhabitants of Yepómera, who burned their mission, slew their Father Foronda and two Spaniards who were with him, and fled to the hills.<sup>72</sup> This was a sign for a general rising in northern Tarahumara. Father Manuel Sánchez of Tutuaca was martyred and with him died a Spanish soldier. Before the Spaniards rushed to arms, Matachic, Tomochic, Cocomorichic, and Cahurichic were burned, although the missionaries escaped.<sup>73</sup>

By this time, the rising affected eleven tribes, and for long the Spaniards dared do nothing save stand on the defensive, attempting the conciliation of the natives by the offer of gifts and the return of captives. The governor, in fact, sought evidence which would enable him to ascribe it to the misplaced zeal of the missionaries, and it was to counter this danger that Neumann, whose own missions were unaffected, was sent to interview the viceroy in Mexico City.<sup>74</sup>

The Spaniards were too weak to attempt any extensive punitive measures and the Indians had not sufficient power to attempt the permanent expulsion of their foes; moreover, famine was against them. By the end of the year, therefore, it was declared safe for the missionaries to return to their posts. Cahurichic and Tutuaca, however, were abandoned,

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Letter of 6 July, 1693, fol. I.

<sup>71</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fols. 18v.-19.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; Alegre, *op. cit.*, III, 70-73; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 370-372; Saravaia, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64; Astrain, *op. cit.*, 486-490.

<sup>73</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, 19v.-20v.

<sup>74</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 20-24v.; *cf.* p. 22, n. 4.



the one permanently, the other for two years, as the existence of large numbers of rebels in their vicinity rendered them unsafe.<sup>75</sup>

The warning conveyed in the murder of the two fathers was not enough to halt the mining activities of the Spaniards. The appointment of a new governor in 1695, and the consequent access of efficiency usually associated with new brooms, brought further concern to Father Neumann, at that time serving as father-visitor, and already worried by certain manifestations amongst the Indians. A force of soldiers was sent through the various villages, seeking out and punishing with death and with stripes those accused of magic and witchcraft. In the path of the soldiers followed pestilence brought in from the mining camps. Of one family of thirteen members in one of Neumann's villages the father only remained alive. Neumann heard constant rumors that the offended shamans were redoubling their efforts, ascribing the disease to baptism and the sound of mission bells. In his visitations of other missions, he heard stories of desertions, of supplies of grain carried into the mountains, of suspicious activity in the manufacture of arrows, and of increasing reluctance to attend church services or receive sacraments. The appearance of comets and strange disturbances in the waters of the rivers did not serve to foster any feeling of security.<sup>76</sup>

Finally, early in 1697, Neumann decided to write to the governor, and expressed the opinion that another Indian revolt was about to break. His fears were received with some skepticism, but nevertheless a force of Spaniards and native auxiliaries was dispatched to investigate the situation. At Yepómera, one of the more remote of the missions, they could find no cause for alarm, but near Cocomorichic they found a hostile gathering which occasioned the sending of hasty warnings to Parral. Friendlies, sent to summon the members of this assembly to return to their villages, were maltreated,

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25. On this rising of 1690, see also Alegre, *op. cit.*, III, 70-73; José Berroterán, "Informe acerca los presidios de Nueva Vizcaya," in *Documentos para la Historia de Méjico*, series 2, I, 164-171; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 370-372; Astrain, *op. cit.*, VI, 486-490; Saravaia, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64; Andrés Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Méjico* (1836-1838), II, 74-75.

<sup>76</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, cap. IV to fol. 30.

and it was only with difficulty that the rebels were finally scattered.<sup>77</sup>

Most of those captured were condemned to death and their heads set up on pikes along the roads. The few who were saved by the entreaties of the fathers were awarded the unenviable lot of hard labor, either in the presidio of Parral or in the mines. Thinking that such an exemplary warning would be enough, the governor ordered the withdrawal of the troops and their dispatch against the always hostile Tobosos.<sup>78</sup>

The discontent of the Tarahumares was, however, not so easily suppressed. Captain Retana, officer in charge of the troops, was warned that the rebels intended to ambush him as he crossed the mountains, and scarcely had this message been delivered when the news came that they had destroyed Tomochic. The destruction of Arisiachic, Yepómera, Cocomorachic, Matachic and an unidentified mission followed rapidly.<sup>79</sup> Then, whilst the Spaniards were held in check by the presence of a strong band at Papigochic, others ravaged and destroyed far and wide even in territory administered by the Franciscans. Others of the Tarahumara missions were destroyed, and this time Father Neumann's Sisoguichic and Echoguita did not escape.<sup>80</sup>

Neumann had stayed at his post even when other missions were in flames. His Indians remained faithful and flogged emissaries who were sent to them by the rebels with invitations to join them. But on June 21, a strong force descended on Echoguita by scrambling down a seemingly impassable slope, seized the native governor, burned a cross which had been erected in the cemetery, and destroyed the mission buildings. Most of the Echoguitans, refusing to join the rebels, fled with their children and flocks into the nearby forests.<sup>81</sup>

At Sisoguichic, Neumann was warned of the advance and advised to flee. At first he refused, but finally the native governor having promised to hide in safety the sacred vessels, he left for Papigochic. Later he found refuge with two other missionaries at Carichic.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 30-34.

<sup>78</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, 32v.-33v.

<sup>79</sup> Called "Meseazium" by Neumann (*ibid.*, fol. 34). <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 33-36.

<sup>81</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fols. 37v.-41.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 41-45.



The rest of the rebellion followed the course of the last one. The Spaniards, when they could bring the Indians to battle, usually defeated them; the Indians, when attacked, almost invariably found some way of escape by which the Spaniards could not follow. They had, moreover, as the year advanced, to cope with famine. Some surrendered to hunger and laid down their arms for food; others were captured and executed; many more continued to refuse the Spanish offers of peace. In his campaign of 1698, Retana, instead of executing his captives, pursued a new policy: they were pardoned on promising to go into the mountains, hunt out those who still remained there, and persuade them to return to their missions. By October of that year, things were sufficiently settled for Neumann to make a tour of the missions in company with the governor. Shortly afterward, most of the missionaries returned to their posts. Father Picolo had sought the less stormy scene of Lower California, and Neumann therefore took his place at Carichic. Other missions, such as Tutuaca, Cocomorachic, Tomochic, and Cahurichic, were left without men to serve them.<sup>83</sup>

Many of the Tarahumares had not been concerned in the revolt; many of those who had revolted had returned; but some still remained leading their old life in the mountains. Their numbers were swollen by further trouble occasioned by the wrong tactics of a tenderfoot missionary at Temaichic.<sup>84</sup> After some spasmodic efforts to root them out, the Spaniards seem to have come to the conclusion that it was cheaper and more profitable to leave them where they were.

It is significant, however, that this does not seem to have affected the work of the missionaries. In the revolt of 1690, both of the unfortunate fathers who had been slain had been found in the company of the Spaniards. In the revolt of 1697-1698, a much more formidable business, the Indians had been careful to avoid harming the fathers, and seem to have given them ample opportunity for escape whenever they in-

<sup>83</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, fol. 45 to end of cap. IV. On this revolt of 1698 see also his letter of 23 April, 1698. The accounts in the *Historia* and this letter differ slightly, but it is proposed to leave the discussion of these points to a longer paper.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. V.

tended the destruction of any mission. The loyalty of Neumann's Indians at Sisoguichic shows that at least one of the fathers was greatly respected. And when those who had fled to the mountains were finally left alone, they built, without any compulsion, comfortable houses for such fathers as would visit them, and they allowed their children to be baptized without protest. At the principal feasts of the year they crowded the missions.<sup>85</sup>

As Neumann said, what was wanted was not the zeal of Elias but the gentleness of Our Savior.<sup>86</sup> . . . For it is not sublime theology nor subtlety of doctrine in any of the other sciences that is needed in the work of instilling Christian doctrines into these people; there is need only of the gentleness of the Lamb in directing them, of invincible patience in bearing with them; and, finally, of Christian humility, which enables you to become all things to all men, to disdain no one, to perform without shrinking, the meanest task and, if the barbarians scorn you, to endure their contempt to the end.<sup>87</sup>

Of Neumann's life between 1698 and 1724 we know nothing; nor is the date of his death certain.<sup>88</sup> The date is, in any case, of no importance; for, if good wine needs no bush, an epitaph like the above is in no need of chronological date.

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<sup>85</sup> Neumann, *Historia*, cap. V.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 62v.

<sup>87</sup> Letter of 20 February, 1682, fol. 25.

<sup>88</sup> In the dedication of his *Historia*, written in 1724, he says he is in good health.



## THE RECAPTURE OF SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, BY THE SPANIARDS—DECEMBER 29-30, 1693\*

In the last decade of the seventeenth century New Mexico was for the first time permanently brought within the ken of European civilization. To be sure, the first period of Spanish domination in New Mexico, dating from Oñate's conquest in 1598,<sup>1</sup> and lasting well nigh a century (until 1680), was a golden age of Franciscan missionary labors and a period of European beginnings. Spanish institutions, to all appearances, had been permanently established there.<sup>2</sup> But in the

\* There is no comprehensive study of the recapture of Santa Fé, and its sequel, the reconquest of all New Mexico. The summary accounts in W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869), Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols. (Cedar Rapids, 1911-1914), and *id.*, *Old Santa Fé, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fé, 1925), which represent the best that has been done, were written before the extensive documentary materials from the archives of Spain and Mexico were made available to students of New Mexico history. Twitchell improved upon Davis and Bancroft in treating of the reconquest story, in which he took a special interest, but his principal sources were the same as theirs, the archives preserved in Santa Fé, which are very fragmentary for this period. These brief accounts are of historical value only in a very general sense. Twitchell edited and published translations of some of the documents on the reconquest preserved in the Santa Fé archives, in his *Leading Facts, passim, Old Santa Fé, passim, The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, 1914), *passim*, and in the magazine *Old Santa Fé* under the following titles: "The Reconquest of New Mexico, 1691-1692. Extracts from the Journal of General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León," I (January and April, 1914); "The Justification of Don Diego de Vargas," I (July, 1914); "The Last Campaign of General Vargas, 1704," *ibid.*; and "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," III (October, 1916).

This account is based on the abundant but hitherto unused manuscript sources from the archives of Mexico and Spain, which I have used in recent years, along with the other manuscript materials from the archives of New Mexico, in preparation for my study entitled *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico, 1692-1704*.

<sup>1</sup> The best accounts are George P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927); Gilberto Espinosa, trans., *History of New Mexico by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, Alcalá, 1610* (Quivira Society, IV, Los Angeles, 1933).

<sup>2</sup> For the history of seventeenth-century New Mexico prior to 1680, see the

great Indian uprising of 1680 all was lost. With the exception of a number of captives, not a Spaniard remained north of El Paso. During the twelve years that followed nearly every vestige of Spanish culture was wiped out. The churches were desecrated, the homes of the Spaniards were destroyed, and the government archives at Santa Fé were piled up in the square and burned. It was an act of loyalty to cast into oblivion everything that smacked of Spain and Spanish culture—in short, of European civilization.<sup>3</sup>

Then, thirteen years later, Diego de Vargas,<sup>4</sup> recently appointed governor and captain-general of the northern province, reconquered old Santa Fé, and eventually all New Mexico, for the Spanish Crown and for Christianity. Again the wilderness was tamed and its peoples brought in direct contact with European civilization. Vargas and his brave little band planted in New Mexico a society pregnant with consequences—the first permanent European colony in New Mexico and the Rocky Mountain area. These were the real beginnings of what is now the state of New Mexico. Many of the oldest families of New Mexico, in exile at El Paso and

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many important studies by France V. Scholes in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, especially "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *loc. cit.*, X (April, 1935), 71-111; *idem*, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670," *loc. cit.*, XII (April and October, 1937), 134-174, 380-452, and XIII (January, 1938), 63-84, *et seq.*; and *idem*, *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650*, New Mexico Historical Society Publications in History, VII (Albuquerque, 1937). Also the many valuable contributions of Lansing B. Bloom in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> The best accounts of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 are Charles W. Hackett, *The Uprising of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, 1680-1682* (Ph.D. dissertation, MS., University of California, Berkeley, 1917); *idem*, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XV (October, 1911), 93-147; *idem*, "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI (October, 1912, and January, 1913), 137-168, 259-276; *idem*, "Otermín's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682," *Old Santa Fé*, III (January and April, 1916), 44-84, 103-132; *idem*, "The Causes for the Failure of Otermín's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682," *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York, 1917), pp. 439-451.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Notes on the Lineage of Don Diego de Vargas, Reconqueror of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (April, 1935), 112-120.



scattered throughout New Spain as far south as Mexico City, repeated the trek north to Santa Fé to form the nucleus of the families of the reconquest, and New Mexican society was reconstituted.

By July 13, 1692, the proposed expedition had full official authorization, and Vargas made ready to leave El Paso, the temporary provincial capital, for the reconquest of Santa Fé and the surrounding New Mexican pueblos. He planned two entries into the north: first, a preliminary visit to the revolted provinces in order to learn the state of affairs there, to reduce and conquer the apostate rebels by force of arms if necessary, and to verify the reports of mines in the Sierra Azul;<sup>5</sup> second, a carefully organized colonizing expedition whereby, with additional soldiers and settlers, the entire colony of New Mexicans who had fled down to El Paso in 1680 would be restored to their former homes.<sup>6</sup>

The preliminary military expedition into New Mexico was a complete success. In his four months' campaign Vargas restored twenty-three pueblos of ten Indian nations to Spain's empire in America "without wasting a single ounce of powder or unsheathing a sword, and [what is most worthy of emphasis and appreciation] without costing the royal treasury a single maravedí."<sup>7</sup> Not a drop of blood was shed except in the conflicts with the Apaches. Seventy-four persons in captivity were set free, among them many Spaniards,<sup>8</sup> and 2,214 Indians, mostly children, were baptized.<sup>9</sup>

But New Mexican submission was yet a formality, as no Spaniards had remained in the north. Vargas now planned to take up settlers to reoccupy the region, and thus seal the

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, "The Legend of Sierra Azul," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IX (April, 1934), 113-158.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, October 31, 1692, in P. Otto Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico, Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) publicados por primera vez y anotados* (Madrid, 1929), pp. 186-187.

<sup>7</sup> Vargas to his Majesty, Zacatecas, May 16, 1693. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo no. 139. The author used photostatic copies of this legajo as preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

<sup>8</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, January 8, 1693, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Vargas to his Majesty, *ibid.*

victory for Spain. After much publicity<sup>10</sup> and careful preparation Vargas set out from El Paso with his colony. The expedition consisted of one hundred soldiers, some seventy families, constituting over eight hundred persons (all the volunteer families that could be gathered at El Paso and in New Vizcaya), seventeen Franciscan friars led by their custodian, Father Salvador de San Antonio, and an unspecified number of Indian allies. The expedition was accompanied by nine hundred head of livestock, over two thousand horses, and one thousand mules.<sup>11</sup> It was a lusty colony. On October 4, 1693, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the main body of the expedition pulled out of El Paso amid great pomp and

<sup>10</sup> See Irving A. Leonard, ed. and trans., *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (Quivira Society, III, Los Angeles, 1932).

<sup>11</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, Parral, October 13, 1693. In "Testimonio de los Autos de Guerra de la reconqta del Reyno y Provinzs de la nueva Mexico fchos por el Sor Genl Don Diego de Vargas Zapatta Lujan Ponze de leon Govor y Capittan Genl deste Reyno y Provincas de la nueva Mexico su nuevo Restaurador Conqor y Reconquistador y Poblador en el Castellano de Sus fuerzas y Presidios por su Magd. Año de 1693-1694," Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, *Historia*, tomo 38; and "Testimonio De Autos Dela Ultima Entrrada y conqiztta que hizo Don Diego de Vargas Zapatta Lujan Ponçe de Leon Govor y cappn Genl de las Provincias de la Nueva Mexico a ellas y su Villa de Sancta Fee y Providencias Sobre ttodo dadas Por el Exmo señor Conde de Galve Virrey Govor y Cappn gl de esta Nueva España," Archivo General de Indias, Seville, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo no. 140.

This account is based on the following photostats, transcripts, and original copies of the above manuscripts: photographic reproductions of *Guadalajara*, legajo 140, in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and transcripts of *Historia*, tomo 38, in the *Bolton Collection*, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, and the Library of Congress; facsimiles of both in the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico; fragmentary entries for the period September 20 to December 24, 1693, in the original, as found in the Santa Fé Archives, State Museum, Santa Fé.

It was the rule during the Spanish domination in America to have every document of any importance executed in triplicate, one copy to remain at the seat of local government, another to be sent to the viceregal archives, and the third to the mother country. Hence, with the exception of papers of a purely local character, the sets of documents listed above, as preserved in Santa Fé, Mexico City, and Seville, each consists of essentially the same documents—*Historia*, tomo 38, and *Guadalajara*, legajo 140, being the complete original duplicate and triplicate manuscript copies of the first original as preserved in fragmentary form at the Santa Fé Archives. The complete Vargas journal is contained in both *Historia*, tomo 38, and *Guadalajara*, legajo 140.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the footnote references below are from these sources.



ceremony.<sup>12</sup> All those who were able rode on horseback; the other colonists crowded into wagons which had been outfitted at Parral.<sup>13</sup> The food supplies were carried in six wagons drawn by eighty mules, and the three cannons in three small carts.<sup>14</sup>

The slow moving train advanced up the valley of the Río Grande in two divisions; the van, conducting the cattle, was usually a day ahead of the rest, clearing the way.<sup>15</sup> The plan was to reach Santa Fé in fifty days.<sup>16</sup> With the main body of the expedition well on its way, Vargas and the *cabildo* took final leave of El Paso on October 13, escorted by two squadrons of Spanish leather-jackets, one to guard the royal standard (Don Juan de Oñate's original banner), and the other to guard the horses.<sup>17</sup>

The advance was slow and difficult. There was soon a dangerous shortage of food. And little did Vargas suspect that the submission of the Indians the year previous was not genuine. At the deserted hacienda of the deceased Ignacio Baca, on the Río Grande in the vicinity of the present Los Lunas, Vargas learned for the first time, through Indian emissaries, that the pueblos had again turned against the Spaniards and were ready to resist.<sup>18</sup> Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Sia gave a semblance of loyalty, but Pecos was found to be the only pueblo which kept the promise it had made the year before.

Finally, on November 12, from his encampment between Sandía and Puaray, in order better to learn the attitude of the allegedly hostile Tanos, Tewas, and Picuries, Vargas dis-

<sup>12</sup> Vargas's journal, El Paso, October 4, 1693.

<sup>13</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, Parral, October 13, 1693; Vargas's journal, Santa Fé, January 20, 1694.

<sup>14</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, Parral, October 13, 1693; Vargas's journal, October 19, 1693.

<sup>15</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, Parral, October 13, 1693. A day ahead meant 5 leagues.

<sup>16</sup> Vargas's journal, El Paso, October 11, 1693.

<sup>17</sup> Vargas's journal, El Paso, October 13, 1693. This was the *cabildo* or town council of Santa Fé. It had been functioning at El Paso since the withdrawal from New Mexico proper.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, November 10, 1693; Vargas to the Count of Galve, Santa Fé, January 20, 1694.

patched two of the Tanos Indians (brought up from El Paso) with messages and rosaries to the governors of Santa Fé, Tesuque, San Juan, Picuries, and San Lázaro. They were allowed six days in which to return an answer.<sup>19</sup> There were constant reports that the natives were organizing to resist the Spaniards. When Vargas was compelled to call upon them for grain it was obtained with difficulty and in insufficient quantities. Some of the pueblo governors and their people feigned allegiance, but every report and rumor confirmed the hostility of the Tewas and the Tanos at Santa Fé.<sup>20</sup>

The loyal Juan de Ye, governor of Pecos, visited Vargas as soon as he learned of his coming. The only native leader of proved loyalty, he became an important factor in the reconquest, advising Vargas as to events and as to the plans of the other pueblos. He reported that the Tewas, Tanos, Picuries, Taos, and Jémez were ready to resist the invaders, and that Acoma and Moqui were hostile.<sup>21</sup> They had spent the previous summer making arrows and darts for use against them on their return. He also stated that the rumor spread among the pueblos shortly after the Spaniards had departed in 1692, to the effect that upon their return they would put all the Indian chiefs to the knife, was of great influence among them. This story had been told at a gathering at San Juan pueblo by the half-breed Tapia, deceased, whom Vargas had brought as interpreter the year before.<sup>22</sup> Undaunted and determined, Vargas continued on to Santa Fé, his main objective.

The abandoned pueblo of Santo Domingo was the last stop before advancing on to Santa Fé. Here Vargas established temporary headquarters. It was his plan, before entering the valley of the Santa Fé River, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate pueblos through a series of peaceful missions. Then he would climb the steep mountain barrier called La Bajada, drop down into the valley, and strike at the walled city itself, which was the enemy stronghold.

<sup>19</sup> Vargas's journal, November 12, 1693. See also Vargas to Luis Granillo, November 14, 1693.

<sup>20</sup> Vargas's journal, November 26, 1693.

<sup>21</sup> Vargas to Luis Granillo, November 14, 1693. Corroborated by the Indian Lorenzo, of Sia.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*.



Don Luis, the supreme governor of all the Tewas and Tanos, and the governors of Tesuque, San Lázaro, and San Ildefonso, came to Santo Domingo to greet the Spaniards. Don Luis showed no signs of joy, and Vargas, having become suspicious, asked that he explain his unfriendliness. To this he answered that his people were angry because they believed in the story which Tapia had told them. According to his version of the story, on a certain designated feast day, after the churches were rebuilt, the Indians would be taken by surprise while leaving church, and all the elders who had taken part in the rebellion of 1680 would be beheaded. In no uncertain terms Vargas branded the story as false.<sup>23</sup>

Camped there on the south side of La Bajada mesa, the Spaniards were on the verge of entering a country where resistance seemed certain. There was also much uneasiness due to the dire need of grain and other food supplies. That night, under cover of darkness, sixteen members of the expedition deserted and fled southward toward New Spain.<sup>24</sup>

On December 4 a mule train led by Miguel Luján was sent to Santa Fé, packed with goods to exchange for needed supplies, and to learn more about the state of affairs there.<sup>25</sup> As yet the natives of Santa Fé had not extended a welcome to the Spaniards. At the same time Roque Madrid was sent to Pecos with twelve leather-jackets (each with four riding horses), a pack train of eighty mules, and six slaughtered beeves and other goods for trade.<sup>26</sup>

On December 8 at sundown, Miguel Luján returned from Santa Fé with valuable news. The natives there were reported as divided in their attitude toward the Spaniards. According to Luján, he and his companions were given a courteous welcome and feasted royally during their two days' stay. Luján obtained twenty-three sacks of unshelled corn, and a small quantity of food for the return trip. Some of the native leaders at Santa Fé were reported to have joined in

<sup>23</sup> Vargas to the Count of Galve, Santa Fé, January 20, 1694.

<sup>24</sup> Vargas's journal, December 3, 1693. On December 8, three of the deserters were captured, and later returned to Santa Fé. The others made good their escape.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, December 4-7, 1693.

<sup>26</sup> Vargas's journal, December 4, 1693.

the amicable comment that now that the Spaniards had returned they could hunt deer and plant their crops without fear of the Navajos, their enemies.<sup>27</sup>

Vargas awaited the return of the Pecos expedition before marching to Santa Fé. On December 9 the Pecos party returned with only eight fanegas of maize and about two of corn meal.<sup>28</sup> On the following day, after having partially calmed the rancor of the Tanos and Tewas through a series of friendly missions and conferences at the ruins of Santo Domingo, and having put to rest the false rumor spread by the faithless Tapia, the entire camp set out for the old capital.

On December 15 the weary band reached the fallen hacienda claimed by Roque Madrid, two leagues from Santa Fé. Since some of the stragglers were still on the road, the entry into the walled city was postponed until next day.<sup>29</sup> Several hours later the governor of Santa Fé and his aid, the crafty Antonio Bolsas, went out to meet Vargas with a gift of tortillas, and renewed old acquaintances. Bolsas, who spoke Spanish well, was still the spokesman of the natives of the walled city, whom he easily swayed with his persuasive tongue. He was consistently hostile toward the Spaniards.

On the following day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the reconquerors paraded through the snow to the gateway of the walled city. Out on the open plaza in front the natives awaited expectantly, without weapons, quiet and composed, the men separated from the women. The Spaniards greeted them with several *alabados*, to which the natives responded. Then the soldiers formed in open ranks to permit the passage of the friars, who were singing psalms and repeating prayers. The soldiers and leaders joined in the hymnal singing. Then Vargas led the friars into the first square, within the walls of the city, where everyone fell upon his knees before a cross that had been planted by the Indians in the center, and where different songs and prayers were sung, including the *Te Deum*, ending with the litany of the Blessed Virgin. Vargas then delivered a speech to the assemblage, in which he explained the object of his return; namely, to Christianize the Indians in

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, December 8, 1693.

<sup>28</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, December 15, 1693.

the name of the King of Spain, to whom they should render allegiance, and to protect them from the Apaches, all of which was confirmed by the friars.<sup>30</sup>

The natives were polite but not enthusiastic, and to avoid any rupture between the Indians and the soldiers, Vargas encamped at a place called Camino de Cuma, on the edge of the mountain just outside the city.<sup>31</sup>

The rumor was spread through the Spanish camp that the Tewas and Tanos of Santa Fé had merely feigned obedience in order to accomplish more easily their treacherous designs. Yet Vargas calmly made plans for the distribution of the missionaries, and the refounding of missions at Santa Fé, Tesuque, Nambé, San Ildefonso, San Juan, San Lázaro, Picuries, Taos, Jémez, Cochití, Sia, Pecos, and their *visitas*.<sup>32</sup>

Shortly, the governor of Pecos, Juan de Ye, went to Vargas's tent with what he claimed to be definite reports that the Tewas and Tanos were gathered with the Picuries and many Apaches on the mesa of pueblo San Juan, prepared for battle. The enemy forces were armed in Spanish fashion, he said, with swords, lances, darts, leather jackets, leather horse armor, and shields, and were merely waiting for the opportune moment to attack. The leaders were those he had already indicated, and Antonio Bolsas was the guiding spirit, egging the people on. Their plan, it was reported, was to steal the horses little by little until the Spaniards were left on foot, then they would swoop down upon them.<sup>33</sup>

Juan de Ye volunteered to send to his pueblo for reinforcements, and pleaded the seriousness of his story.<sup>34</sup> There was ample evidence to warrant trust in his assertions.<sup>35</sup> It was due to these circumstances that the custodian, Father San Antonio, presented Vargas with a petition in which he pleaded against the distribution of the missionaries at this time. He regarded such an act as dangerous and injudicious, and urged that the warnings of the ever faithful Juan de Ye of Pecos be heeded. Was it not he, he argued, who in 1680

<sup>30</sup> Vargas's journal, December 16, 1693.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, December 16 and 27, 1693.

<sup>32</sup> Vargas's journal, December 17, 1693.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>34</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, December 18, 1693. This entry is partially translated in Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, I, 336-337.



warned all the Spaniards of the impending revolt twenty days before the outbreak by notifying Sergeant Major Francisco Gómez, repeating his warning twelve days later? And after he had seen that no one believed his story, had he not pleaded with his minister, Father Fernando de Velasco Pacheco, repeating his knowledge of the plot and offering reinforcements?<sup>36</sup> Vargas acknowledged the truth of the custodian's arguments, but failed to take immediate action. Meanwhile, the Spanish women and children were undergoing severe hardships due to the rigors of winter, inadequate shelter, and lack of food. The custodian's complaint was followed by another from the *cabildo*, requesting that it be given possession of the *casas reales*, or former government buildings, theirs, they argued, by natural right and legitimate and ancient possession.<sup>37</sup> The Spaniards had come to repopulate Santa Fé, they said, and to place the royal banner upon its walls.<sup>38</sup>

Next day, December 19, Miguel Luján returned from San Juan, San Lázaro, San Cristóbal, Nambé, and San Ildefonso, with five loads of flour.<sup>39</sup> He had been given a happy welcome everywhere. Also, Governor Francisco, of San Ilde-

<sup>36</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>37</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>38</sup> On December 18 Vargas went with some of the military leaders to examine the ruined chapel or hermitage of San Miguel, which had formerly served as the parish church of the Mexican Indians of Santa Fé. The site of San Miguel, on the same spot on which it stands today, was outside the walls of the villa proper, on the south side of the Santa Fé River. It was decided to have the natives repair the chapel under the direction of Governor José and Antonio Bolsas, in order to provide a decent home for "Our Lady of the Conquest . . . who was enclosed in a wagon. . . ." The Indians promised to carry out Vargas's wishes. Among other materials which they asked for to carry out the work was hide with which to make a ladder, presumably for binding the rungs. There are examples of this type of ladder from the pueblos in the State Museum at Santa Fé. The natives did not use pole ladders only, as intimated by Leonard, ed., *Mercurio Volante*, p. 65, note 80.

In the cathedral at Santa Fé, in one of the side altars, there is today a beautiful Virgen del Rosario, a statue about three feet tall, that is the special object of veneration. This statue is called *La Conquistadora*, Our Lady of the Conquest, and in legend it has been identified with the statue referred to in the above passage. Every year, beginning the day after Corpus Christi, a procession and novena are held in her honor. It is said that the procession and novena are held in fulfillment of a vow made by Vargas to the effect that this be done each year should he be victorious at Santa Fé. Cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Virgin of the Reconquest," *Mid-America*, VII (April, 1936), 79-87.

<sup>39</sup> Vargas's journal, December 19, 1693.

fonso, arrived at camp to render obedience, and he promised additional grain supplies in return for some hoes which were given to him.<sup>40</sup> The next day Governor Pacheco of Taos and Don Luis also came to assure fealty. In return for a roll of cloth Pacheco offered to send maize. They all left in a very happy mood.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile Governor José, of Santa Fé, and Antonio Bolsas informed Vargas that they considered it better to open an *estufa*, or kiva, in the first square of the villa for a chapel, instead of repairing the chapel of San Miguel, as Vargas had ordered. They said that it was difficult to obtain timber from the mountains, on account of the heavy snow, and that it was preferable to hear mass within the walls of the city anyhow. Vargas went to inspect the *estufa*. It was round, low roofed, and entered by an opening in the roof by means of a wooden ladder, just like any pueblo kiva of the present day. Vargas ordered the natives to tear open a door, whitewash the whole interior, and make an altar out of adobes, and that two rooms of an adjoining house be set aside as the living quarters for the missionary. One door should face the altar, and another the adjoining living quarters.<sup>42</sup> But after the structure was completed the custodian objected to it as a place of worship on the grounds that it had once been used by the Indians for idolatrous and prohibited religious rites,<sup>43</sup> despite Vargas's argument that there were a number of churches and cathedrals in Spain which were formerly Moorish mosques.<sup>44</sup>

During this time all the attempts to obtain grain were disappointing.<sup>45</sup> The rigorous weather continued—tempestuous snowstorms and cold winds. Sickness was rife. Children and infants were dying. Many had already succumbed to the weather.<sup>46</sup> There were repeated complaints. Vargas employed all his wits in his effort to obtain food.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, December 20, 1693.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* Father José Diez had been designated as pastor at Santa Fé. (*Ibid.*, December 22, 1693.)

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.

<sup>45</sup> Vargas's journal, December 20-23, 1693.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, December 23, 1693.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

On December 23 Captain Diego Arias and his companions arrived with three deserters captured at Ancón de Fray García two weeks before.<sup>48</sup> This incident, for a moment at least, proved a boon and a blessing, for their arrival was witnessed by José and Bolsas, and the Spanish leader immediately took advantage of the situation by saying that these were the vanguard of an army of two hundred reinforcements coming to his aid. This stratagem was invaluable, for on this assumption the natives of Santa Fé were frightened into supplying twenty sacks of maize on very short notice.<sup>49</sup> As a trick to obtain still more, Vargas said that the reinforcements were bringing a large supply of powder and bullets to use against the Apaches, but that they lacked provisions, and had sent for two hundred sacks of maize.<sup>50</sup> This series of unforeseen circumstances gave the camp renewed confidence, and fired them into complaining more loudly of their suffering from exposure, which they believed could and should be overcome. That the people wanted shelter was obvious, and their designs were upon the dwellings of the natives of Santa Fé. Twenty-two had already died there of exposure, and were buried beneath the snow.<sup>51</sup>

In answer to continued complaints, Vargas called a general council of war composed of all the leading citizens, the missionaries and the military officers. The gathering was held in Vargas's tent, and there petitions were read and opinions expressed.<sup>52</sup> On motion of the *cabildo*, this gathering took officially the form of a *cabildo abierto*, or open town meeting.<sup>53</sup> Of fourteen of the most prominent leaders consulted, there was unanimity in agreement with the petition of the *cabildo*; namely, that the Tanos be obliged to return to their former pueblo of Galisteo, and that the buildings of the city be reoccupied by the Spaniards.<sup>54</sup> Six of these favored

<sup>48</sup> *Idem*.<sup>49</sup> *Idem*.<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, December 24, 1693.<sup>51</sup> *Idem*.<sup>52</sup> *Idem*.<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, December 27, 1693.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, December 26-27, 1693. These leading men were: Maestro de Campo Luis Granillo, Sergeant Major Juan Dios Lucero de Godoy, Captain José Téllez Jirón, Sergeant Major Francisco de Anaya Almazán, Captain Francisco Romero de Pedraza, Antonio Montoya, Captain Luis Martín, Antonio Lucero de Godoy, Diego de Montoya, Diego de Luna, Juan del Río, Captain Cabo, and Caudillo



the expulsion of the natives by force of arms if necessary.<sup>55</sup> The missionaries differed from the others in that their only interest was safety; they repeated that it was not yet the auspicious time to distribute the missionaries as Vargas had planned. For these reasons it was decided to ask the Indians of Santa Fé to return to Galisteo.<sup>56</sup>

These meetings could be clearly observed by the Indians, who watched at the ramparts with growing anger and suspicion. They knew full well what the settlers were demanding, and were ready for resistance. They were already harboring some of the Spaniards beneath their roofs, against the will of the majority. An attempt was being made to fleece them of their grain; now the Spaniards wanted to drive them from their homes. The whole city was charged as if with electricity, and only a spark was needed to set the whole thing off. For the Spaniards, starving and without shelter, at the very walls of a city whose people had committed treason against their God and their king, it was a matter of life or death, and the spirit of the reconquest of Spain from the Moslem infidel still ran in their veins. For the Pueblo Indians, who were not warlike by nature, it was a noble and just defense of life, property, and religion at any cost. Under such circumstances war was inevitable.

The rebels countermined their houses, and kept their guns, darts, and arrows in readiness, under the pretext of preparing for a deer hunt. And there were sentinels on the ramparts watching every move of the Spaniards, armed with weapons and dressed in leather jackets.<sup>57</sup> Among those members of the expedition of mixed blood who were living in the villa, was Jerónima Márquez, living with a native aunt named Angela. According to her reports, for the last two days Tanos and Tewas had been entering and leaving the city all night long, and she was of the belief that they were taking their food and belongings to the mountains. The natives had seen through the hoax regarding the alleged reinforcements.

Roque Madrid, Sergeant Major Antonio Jorge, and Captain Diego Arias de Quirós.

<sup>55</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>56</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>57</sup> Vargas's journal, December 27, 1693.

They were very angry, and on the night of the twenty-sixth the leaders met in the *estufa* until dawn, and their complaints resolved themselves down to this query: if the Spaniards wished to destroy them let them commence, but why attempt to fleece them of their food and of house and home?<sup>58</sup> The creoles and mestizos of Vargas's camp who were living in the villa were warned by native friends to join their own camp, for the majority of the natives were defiant, and as a consequence several families abandoned shelter for safety.<sup>59</sup>

On the twenty-eighth, at four o'clock in the morning, Vargas was awakened in his tent by a youth sent by Miguel Luján, a Spanish soldier who had been living in the *estufa* which the natives had opened for a chapel. He said that all night long the natives had been on the watch, with fires in the patio of the walled city. He had escaped to Vargas's tent with the aid of a blind mestizo named Agustín Salazar. Salazar had heard the governor of Santa Fé assure his people that they had sufficient strength to overcome the enemy.<sup>60</sup> An hour later the youth again appeared: a Picuries and a Tanos had arrived at the villa, but when they heard the clamor of the warriors who were arousing the people to fight the Spaniards, they had protested loyalty toward them.<sup>61</sup> A moment later the blind Agustín himself scaled the walls by means of a ladder, and with the aid of Miguel Luján, and in Vargas's tent, before various witnesses, he divulged the following significant information.

From his room inside the former *casas reales*, he had heard many Indians enter the square, some on horseback, apparently from distant parts. To better spy upon what was taking place, he wrapped himself under his cloak, and in the darkness of the night mingled in the crowded patio and listened to what was being said. The governor was telling the people to be unafraid of the Spaniards and their leader, whose statement that reinforcements were coming was a lie. They were told to go out unafraid and massacre the invaders. At this some hesitated, fearing for their children, and saying that they would rather flee to the mountains and avert blood-

<sup>58</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, December 28, 1693.

<sup>59</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>61</sup> *Idem.*

shed. To these arguments the governor had boldly answered that this was no time to worry about children, but rather to fight until the enemy was defeated.<sup>62</sup> A few minutes later Captain José Olguín escaped from the villa and reported that the Indians had taken up their ladders and were on the point of rising. Other soldiers came in with similar reports.<sup>63</sup>

Vargas immediately sounded the alarm. The governor of Pecos was sent with two swift steeds for reinforcements from his pueblo, and the rest of the families and soldiers living inside the villa were sent for.<sup>64</sup> Some left all their belongings behind. Then the first spark flew: as Miguel Luján, who had been living in the whitewashed *estufa*, escaped with his wife and children, he was met by a storm of darts, clods, and stone hatchets, from the walls, which were accompanied by hideous and vengeful shouts.<sup>65</sup>

When daylight came Vargas sent a flying squadron to examine the stronghold, and found its walltops already lined with warriors. When these caught sight of the approaching soldiers they set forth a blood-curdling shout that was interspersed with repellent blasphemy, accompanied by a flight of missiles. For better protection the camp was immediately transferred to an open meadow directly in front of, and an arquebus shot distant from, the stronghold. Guards were stationed at strategic points. Then, with the *cabildo* and most of the soldiers, Vargas rode to the gateway of the walled city singing praises to the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>66</sup>

On the walls above the doorway stood the rebel war captains and their most valiant warriors, among them Antonio Bolsas. Vargas rode out ahead with Roque Madrid and his secretary, and from below he harangued the rebels. But sweet words were of no avail. His order to quit the city brought matters to a crisis. They answered with determination that they were ready to defend their lands, and wished to hear nothing of the Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin Mary; that they would fight, and that all New Mexico was

<sup>62</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>63</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>64</sup> Official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.

<sup>65</sup> Vargas's journal, December 28, 1693.

<sup>66</sup> *Idem.*



with them; that the Spaniards would be either killed or enslaved. Remembering his experience of the year previous, Vargas continued patiently with suave words, and Bolsas said that he would deliberate with the people and give an answer in the evening.<sup>67</sup>

Vargas returned to his tent but received no answer. Instead, as night fell, a chanting of war songs could be heard, which was drowned out from time to time in a din of hideous shouting. The delay worried the Spanish general, for it would give the confederates of the enemy time to come to their assistance. And so a ring of sentinels was placed around the city, and the whole camp kept watch.<sup>68</sup>

At about seven o'clock next morning, December 29, one hundred and forty Pecos Indian allies came to the aid of Vargas, and he sallied forth again to exhort the embattled rebels. Father Diego Zainos made a pious speech, followed by prayers and a blessing, after which the army formed in military order and marched to the city. But Vargas had scarcely started to move forward, singing praise to the Blessed Sacrament, when the Indians began their hellish shouting. They cried out to the Spaniards that the whole country-side was against them, every Apache camp, as far west as Moqui.<sup>69</sup> They would kill everyone except the missionaries, whom they would enslave for a time for the purpose of carrying wood from the mountains. These fiendish boasts were followed by a storm of darts, arrows, stones, and other heavy missiles. "Santiago! Santiago! Death to these rebels!" cried out Vargas to his men, and the battle was on.<sup>70</sup>

Most of the soldiers dismounted and charged rapidly in an effort to gain the walls, while others, with repeated volleys of gunfire, attempted to clear the way by shooting down those who were defending the walls from the intrenchments above. One group of Spaniards rushed the main tower above the gateway, scaled the walls by means of ladders, amid a hail of

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*; official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve; report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>68</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>69</sup> Vargas's journal, December 29, 1693; report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>70</sup> Vargas's journal, December 29, 1693.

stones and darts which glanced off their leather shields, and won the position.<sup>71</sup> An attempt was now made to divert the enemy by attacking from many points, but they merely hid behind walls and houses. Vargas then ordered that the principal and only doorway be smashed down. It was so strong that the axes did little damage, so it was set on fire and burned down, in the process of which four Spaniards were wounded, one fatally. Through the open doorway rushed a squad of the front-line soldiers, who forced their way through barricades and gained possession of the whitewashed *estufa* of the first square. By noon the Spaniards were in possession of the main doorway, the front square, the first communal dwelling, and the two towers which were above the doorway overlooking the first square.<sup>72</sup> Half the stronghold was already won. But in order to achieve victory the intrenchments on the surrounding walls had to be gained at great risk. Four ladders were made for this purpose. It would have been easy to set fire to the stronghold and thus exterminate the entire population, but looking to the safety of the women and children, so he said, Vargas decided otherwise. The general was everywhere at once, urging his men on to great deeds of valor.<sup>73</sup>

Suddenly, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, the sentinels saw a large troop of Indians, on horse and on foot, coming to the aid of the besieged.<sup>74</sup> On seeing them, the rebels increased their shouting and fought with renewed vigor. They even threw down boiling water upon the soldiers who were undermining the walls.<sup>75</sup> The new arrivals were attacked with such fury that five of them were killed in the first skirmish, and the others fled in bewilderment to a distant vantage point from which they were content merely to watch the spectacle.<sup>76</sup> At sundown, however, they made a second sally.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve; *auto de remisión*, Santa Fé, January 16, 1694; report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>73</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>74</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>75</sup> Official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*; Vargas's journal, December 29, 1693; report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

Four were killed, and the others fled, never again to show their faces.<sup>77</sup>

That night soldiers were stationed at all the strategic points already won, in the towers and in the first *estufa*, and others were placed where they could prevent escape from or entry into the villa. The horses, mules, and livestock were formed in a circle around the camp.<sup>78</sup> All night long the Spaniards were ready for an assault, but nothing happened. From the direction of the city all was quiet and darkness, save for the occasional flash and sound of gunfire from the direction of the first *estufa*, followed by an echoing crash, or hoarse, telling thud.<sup>79</sup> Vargas was on horseback all night.<sup>80</sup>

Before dawn, at about four o'clock, the soldiers hidden in the first *estufa* made a desperate attempt to scale the walls. In the light of a flint lock they took a ladder and gained control of the front walls. The surprised Indians offered little resistance, and by dawn all the walls facing the first square were won. In full control of the walltops running along the façade of the stronghold, with its two towers, these crack soldiers soon won the positions which dominated the second square.<sup>81</sup> From over the barricaded houses and walls which separated the two squares, they looked down into the second square, where the fortified *estufa* was defended from within by a detachment of rebels. Shortly, from the first square was heard the cry "Praise be to the Blessed Sacrament!" as the second *estufa* was stormed and won.<sup>82</sup>

Meanwhile, Governor José lay in his house writhing in pain from a broken wrist, caused by a flying bullet. His fair city being rent away foot by foot before his eyes, till scarce enough remained for him to stand on, and realizing that all was lost, José, in futile desperation, tightened a noose about his neck by means of a short iron bar, and took his own life.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>78</sup> Vargas's journal, December 29, 1693.      <sup>79</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*; official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve; report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, December 30, 1693.

<sup>82</sup> Report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*; Vargas's journal, December 29-30, 1693; official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.



By morning the city was won. The military leaders notified Vargas, who immediately had the royal banner placed upon the walls as a sign of victory, and a cross set over the main entrance.<sup>84</sup> The Indians were asked to come out and receive pardon. Most of the women and children complied, accompanied by the rebel Bolsas. The others stubbornly remained in hiding. Governor Vargas then entered the main square, accompanied by the *cabildo* and all the soldiers, and every house was searched from trapdoor to trapdoor, and from roof to cellar. Fifty-four men, women, and children were thus driven out of hiding and delivered to the guards.<sup>85</sup> There were so many living quarters, including those that had been built over the *palacio*, or royal government buildings, that it took twenty soldiers and thirty friendly Indians the whole day to take a complete inventory. There were ample quarters to house all the colonists.<sup>86</sup>

The houses were well provisioned with maize, of which three or four thousand fanegas were found, as well as beans and other grain.<sup>87</sup> These food supplies were put under the supervision of the *cabildo*. A large *estufa* was swept out, and all the grain was taken there, from which place the *cabildo* was instructed to distribute the grain to the families for food and seed in order that the men might start planting.<sup>88</sup> In the governor's house José was found dead. One other native was found to have taken his own life in a like manner.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the inspection tour was being made and the rebels were being rounded up, the sentinels on the walls reported that a large troop of Indians was approaching. The colonists were taken into the city for protection. Eighty soldiers sallied forth to meet the enemy, who left without attacking.<sup>89</sup> Vargas then ordered the people to occupy the houses.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>85</sup> Vargas's journal, December 30, 1693.

<sup>86</sup> Report of the *cabildo* of Santa Fé to the Count of Galve.

<sup>87</sup> Official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.

<sup>88</sup> Vargas's journal, December 30, 1693.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*; official résumé of the second entrada, Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve.

<sup>90</sup> *Idem*.

The fifty-four rebels first taken out of hiding that day, and sixteen more who were found later, along with Antonio Bolsas, the leading spirit of the uprising, were executed at the rear of the stronghold on the following charges: having stoned and broken down a cross placed in the center of the square, having broken a statue of the Virgin Mary, and having committed treason against God and the Royal Crown.<sup>91</sup> Those who had surrendered of their own free will, about four hundred of both sexes, were distributed among the soldiers and settlers in servitude for a period of ten years. After the ten-year period, if sufficiently instructed in Christian doctrine and citizenship, they might return to a pueblo. The natives were thus made virtual slaves under the following provisions: they could choose their masters; they must be well treated; they should be instructed in prayers and religion by the missionaries; they could not be exchanged, as their masters owned only their service; they could not be removed from one locality to another.<sup>92</sup> In Vargas' opinion this was within his powers as specified by royal *cédula*. This action was later confirmed by the viceroy and the Junta de Hacienda in Mexico City, even though the royal fiscal had previously reported that it was contrary to the Laws of the Indies.<sup>93</sup>

As a result of the struggle at Santa Fé, eighty-one rebels perished in seventy executions, nine battle deaths, and two suicides.<sup>94</sup> Of the Spaniards, twenty-two had died of exposure during the two weeks stay on the edge of the mountain,<sup>95</sup> and one had died in battle.<sup>96</sup> Now the colonists were lodged in the houses of the vanquished.

The execution of seventy natives, considered by Vargas as a necessary war measure, caused renewed rumblings in the surrounding pueblos. What assurances did they have, they argued, that their leaders would not meet a like fate? They

<sup>91</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>92</sup> Vargas's journal, December 30, 1693.

<sup>93</sup> Proceedings of the Junta de Hacienda, Mexico City, March 23, 1694, copy filed with Vargas's journal; report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, March 18, 1694, *ibid*.

<sup>94</sup> Vargas's journal, December 30, 1693.

<sup>95</sup> *Auto de remisión*, Santa Fé, January 16, 1694.

<sup>96</sup> *Idem*.

recalled Tapia's story, and remained hostile. Nevertheless, as the year 1694 opened, Vargas and his colonists were safely intrenched within the walls of Santa Fé. From that base all New Mexico was permanently reconquered within the next three years, and as an outpost of defensive expansion, the province served, for a time, as the bulwark of defense for New Spain on her north central and northeastern frontiers.

Santa Fé and the province of New Mexico were destined to play an important part in the history of New Spain throughout the following century, despite their apparent isolation.<sup>97</sup> And in the early decades of the nineteenth century the existence of permanent Spanish settlements in New Mexico made possible the development of the Santa Fé trade with the American West, the significant history of which is well known. Retaining many of its original elements, furthermore, the region is to the present day of real importance for the study of cultural fusion and comparative Spanish philology, folklore, and tradition.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> For the eighteenth century see especially Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado, Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman, 1935); *idem*, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932); Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773*, 3 vols. (Washington, 1923-1937). Hackett's work also contains important sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents.

<sup>98</sup> See especially Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Spanish Tradition in New Mexico," *University of New Mexico Bulletin*, XLVIII (November 1, 1934), 26-39; *idem*, "Spanish Folk-Lore in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, I (April, 1926), 135-155, and the many references to the *Journal of American Folklore*, etc., cited therein; *idem*, "Traditional Spanish Ballads in New Mexico," *Hispania*, XV (March, 1932), 89-102; *idem*, *Estudios sobre el español de Nuevo México* (Buenos Aires, 1930); *idem*, *España en Nuevo México* (Boston, 1937); and J. Manuel Espinosa, *Spanish Folk-Tales from New Mexico*, *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, XXX (New York, 1937). From the economic rather than cultural viewpoint see H. Bernstein, "Spanish Influence in the United States: Economic Aspects," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVIII (February, 1938), 43-65.



## GENERAL URQUIZA AND THE BATTLE OF PAVÓN (1861)

The overthrow of the Argentine dictator Rosas by General Justo José de Urquiza at the battle of Caseros (1852) has been considered a landmark in Argentine history. Behind lay an Argentine Confederation whose only sense of cohesion was derived from common submission to a tyrant, himself the chief of fourteen *caudillos*, dominating fourteen provinces. Ahead stretched the fair prospect of national organization on a constitutional basis. Yet this period of reconstruction inherited many of the evils of the past, and of these the deep-seated antagonism between the *Porteños* and the *provincianos* of the interior was not the least. If we accept the Córdoba League and the *Unión Cívica* as further manifestations of this rivalry, then the struggle may be said to have continued until the very close of the nineteenth century, if not beyond.

The enterprize which lay before General Urquiza was not lightly to be undertaken. Two problems of major importance confronted him, the one economic and the other political. Economic grievances rather than national sentiments had caused the Governor of Entre Ríos to break with Rosas, whose henchman Urquiza had been, for the Dictator's fiscal policy had been directed against the opening up of markets in the interior and riverain provinces by forcing all provincial trade to flow through the port of Buenos Aires. As the greatest landowner and proprietor of the interior, Urquiza felt this embargo more keenly than any, and realized to the full the consequences, were Rosas to gain possession of Montevideo, on the opposite bank of the Río de la Plata. Freedom from the economic thralldom of the custom-house of Buenos Aires was the motive behind Urquiza's pledge, made on the eve of the campaign of Caseros, to throw open the traffic of the Río de la Plata and its arteries to the commerce of the world.

Another pledge which Urquiza had made was that of the organization of Argentina on a constitutional basis. But this

depended, in last analysis, on the reconciliation of the local pride of Buenos Aires with the raw regionalism of the interior provinces—of Unitarian aspirations with Federalist principles—and the *Porteño* emigrés of 1852 remembered the Federalist tyranny of Rosas with the accumulated bitterness of years of exile. Nor was Urquiza, the soldier of India Muerta and Vences, the statesman to win their sympathies. His failure to do so led to the September Revolution of 1852; his inability to reduce the opposing city of Buenos Aires to submission determined the secession of the great province (1853-59). The leading *Porteños* refused to accept the national constitution drawn up by the Argentine Congress at Paraná in 1853—a gesture signifying not that Buenos Aires sought an independent status, but that only on her own terms would she rejoin the Confederation.

The political contest between Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation subordinated itself to the economic issue. In his ambitious efforts to attain financial and economic independence of the port of Buenos Aires, Urquiza incurred large commitments, besides pledging his own resources. A rival port of entry was established at Rosario, differential tariffs were levied on the *Porteño* river carrying-trade, and extensive colonization schemes were financed by the Government at Paraná in an attempt to raise the prosperity and productivity of the interior; but, excellent as these schemes eventually proved, they were not destined to wrest economic control from Buenos Aires during the short span of General Urquiza's presidency (1854-60). The battle of Cepeda (1859) settled nothing, for while it left Urquiza victor in the field, it failed to deprive Buenos Aires of control over her customs revenue.

Despite this deadlock, the early months of 1860 were full of promise for national unity. A preliminary pact had been signed between the two governments in November, 1859, and shortly afterwards a change took place in the personnel of the rival cabinets. Urquiza was succeeded as Argentine President by Dr. Santiago Derqui, a native of Córdoba and a man of some culture. Adolfo Alsina, the intransigent leader of the Unitarians, gave place as Governor of the Province of

Buenos Aires to Bartolomé Mitre, a statesman of moderate counsels and the leader of the progressive, "Liberal" party at the capital. "I will proceed," declared Mitre,<sup>1</sup> "bent on the realization of Argentine unity and the speediest incorporation of Buenos Aires into the rest of the Argentine family, as the best means of securing peace in our time and of storing up happiness for the future—saving always the honour, rights, and interests of Buenos Aires." President Derqui was equally enthusiastic, and his Presidential Message of 1860 from Paraná resounded with the glories which peace and national unity would bring in their train: internal development, colonization, railways, and the spread of education.<sup>2</sup>

Further progress towards an understanding was made by the signature of the celebrated Pact of June 8, 1860, between the Confederation and the Province of Buenos Aires. As laid down by the Pact of November, 1859, a National Committee *ad hoc* was to consider amendments to the Constitution of 1853 proposed by the Provincial Committee of Buenos Aires (Articles 1-10). Arrangements were to be made for the election of *Porteño* deputies and senators to the National Congress (Article 11), the Provincial Government meantime continuing its local functions, excepting that of the management of foreign affairs (Articles 12-13). A system of national frontier defence was to be devised, and a uniform customs' code was to replace differential tariffs (Articles 15-17). Article 14 made an all-important provision:

In the interim the Government of Buenos Aires, in order to contribute its quota to the national income, shall pay to the National Government the sum of 1,500,000 dollars sterling monthly, commencing from the date of the ratification of this Treaty.<sup>3</sup>

The occasion of the signature of the June Pact was one for personal as well as public rejoicing. The three potentates,

<sup>1</sup> Programa del Gobernador, May 3, 1860, cited in *Arengas de Bartolomé Mitre* (Buenos Aires, 1889), p. 213ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in I. Bucich-Escobar, *Los presidentes argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1934 ed.), pp. 49-50.

<sup>3</sup> Convención de unión entre la Confederación Argentina y el Estado de Buenos Aires, Paraná, June 6, 1860, cited in Argentine Republic, *Tratados, convenciones, protocolos y acuerdos internacionales*, ed. by F. Centeno (Buenos Aires, 1911-1912), X, 469-74; *British & Foreign State Papers*, LII, 904-6.



President Derqui, General Urquiza, and Governor Mitre, met in Buenos Aires for the festivities, and on July 21 Derqui wrote exultantly to the *Porteño* Governor:<sup>4</sup>

Your name and mine are linked by a deed which has won the fervant applause of the whole nation. It is our duty, therefore—yours and mine—to bring the ideal of unity to a happy finale, for so many of our worthiest hopes depend upon it. For my part, I would do anything rather than see those hopes frustrated.

On June 23 a special Constitutional Committee had been appointed by the national authorities to examine the proposed amendments of Buenos Aires to the Constitution of 1853; on September 23 the reforms were duly accepted with a few verbal but insignificant changes.

The acceptance of the revised Constitution by the National Committee in September, 1860, was further cause for optimism to the jubilant President. At one moment<sup>5</sup> he was conferring with Governor Mitre upon a change in the composition of the National Cabinet, and at the *Porteño* Liberal's instance appointed Dr. Norberto de la Riestra and Dr. Francisco Pico—both *Porteños* of the "Liberal" school—to replace two *provincianos*, Dr. Arias (Minister of Finance) and Dr. Emilio de Alvear (Foreign Affairs). At another,<sup>6</sup> he was suggesting to Mitre that the act of union should be crowned by the formation of a cabinet representative of all the talents, sufficiently diverse, in all truth: Valentín Alsina (Minister of the Interior), Riestra (Finance), Antonio Aberastain, Governor of San Juan (Foreign Affairs), and Dr. Marcos Paz, a native of San Juan (Justice and Education). President Derqui's anxiety to win the sympathies of the "Liberal" Party at Buenos Aires was transparent enough:

I must confess to you [he wrote to Mitre<sup>7</sup>] that I intend to govern with the support of the Liberal party, for they have the brains. This means that I must work towards securing a parliamentary majority for the party, otherwise my objective cannot be achieved.

<sup>4</sup> Derqui to Mitre, July 21, 1860, Buenos Aires, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Derqui to Mitre, Paraná, October 17, 1860, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 27ff.

<sup>6</sup> Derqui to Mitre, Paraná, October 30, 1860, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>7</sup> Derqui to Mitre, Paraná, October 17, 1860, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

In the same month (October) Derqui appointed Mitre brigadier-general of the nation; it was but one of many similar gestures of reconciliation made to the *Porteño* leader.

Yet the whole political situation, promising at the time of the Pact of November, 1859, was eluding the control of Derqui. The latter spent most of his time in bed, and lacked both the convictions of Mitre and the material resources of General Urquiza. It was still an open question whether Buenos Aires would continue to be denied what she considered to be her natural leadership of the fourteen provinces by yet another hated *provinciano*, impulsive and weak-willed. In the Congress at Paraná, Derqui had been a staunch advocate of differential tariffs against Buenos Aires. He had indeed at one time been a Unitarian in politics, but, "like most apostates," remarked Consul Thornton,<sup>8</sup> "he is now the bitterest enemy of the faith he once professed, and I much fear that he will not promote the union, unless perhaps lured by the prospect of handling the comparatively large resources of the Province of Buenos Aires." Owing to the provisional arrangement of the June Pact, however, the Government of Buenos Aires still held the purse-strings, and might still call the tune. It was an open question whether the province would long acquiesce in the nationalization of her customs revenue, now that the forces triumphant over her at Cepeda were divided. And divided they undoubtedly were.

General Urquiza, once more governor of Entre Ríos, was known to be exerting a direct and continual pressure on the decisions of the national executive. It was obvious that, as long as the seat of the national government remained at Paraná, in Urquiza's domain, and as long as the bulk of the national army was under his control, so long would Urquiza continue to play a leading part in Confederation politics. During 1860 he even turned his eyes towards Buenos Aires. His objective was apparently to weaken the dominant Liberal Party, which included some of his personal opponents, and to create a party of his own at the metropolis. Urquiza curried favor with Mitre, no less than Derqui had done. It was pecu-

<sup>8</sup> Public Record Office, London. Foreign Office (hereinafter cited F. O.), 6/225, Thornton to Russell (No. 16), Paraná, February 6, 1860.

liar, too, that the Entre Rian governor should be making heavy purchases in house property in Buenos Aires, where he had never found the atmosphere congenial.<sup>9</sup>

Knowing that such intrigues were afoot, President Derqui must have found his position somewhat irksome. "General Urquiza cannot convince himself that he is no longer President of the Confederation," commented Consul Sir Edward Thornton.<sup>10</sup> It was to defend himself against this overweening power at his very doors that Derqui eventually conceived the idea of setting up an independent republic of the interior provinces, with its capital at his native town of Córdoba.<sup>11</sup> It was to shake himself free from Urquiza's political pressure that the president had solicited Governor Mitre for an alliance with the Liberal party at Buenos Aires.

On November 10, 1860, Mitre visited the president and General Urquiza at the latter's *estancia* at Concepción del Uruguay (Entre Ríos), but the meeting was destined to be a short one, for a revolution broke out in the province of San Juan. In 1858 the Federalist governor of San Juan, General Nazario Benavides, had been assassinated, an event which had been acclaimed by the *Porteño* press. The Paraná government succeeded in quashing a Unitarian revolt in that province and appointed the heavy-handed General Virasoro to take temporary charge of affairs. Federalist Virasoro so far cowed the opposition—notoriously in league with the *Porteño* Unitarians<sup>12</sup>—as to secure election as constitutional governor of San Juan. Derqui, Mitre, and Urquiza had met at Concepción in order to discuss the situation in San Juan, and it was agreed that a confidential note should be sent to admonish the reactionary Governor Antonio Virasoro, and to request him to resign his post. Curiously enough, the note was penned on the very day that Virasoro was assassinated, following a revolution which had been aided and abetted by a section of the *Porteño* Liberal Party, and especially by Sarmiento, the Minister of the Interior, a native of Córdoba and avowed

<sup>9</sup> F. O. 6/225, Thornton to Russell (No. 11), Paraná, January 20, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> F. O. 6/226, Thornton to Russell (No. 48), Paraná, May 19, 1860.

<sup>11</sup> F. O. 6/235, Parish to Russell (No. 14), Buenos Aires, July 30, 1861.

<sup>12</sup> F. O. 6/227, Thornton to Russell (No. 111), Paraná, November 25, 1860.



enemy of Virasoro. The fact that the official gazette of the *Porteño* Government had announced the death of Virasoro six days before the actual assassination lends colour to the theory that the act was not entirely unpremeditated.<sup>13</sup>

Discussing the tragedy with General Urquiza, Mitre deplored in mild terms<sup>13a</sup> the fact that their joint note had not reached Virasoro sooner; he concurred, he said, with Urquiza's previous judgment: that Virasoro was "a man with the instincts of a tiger—unable to govern people without committing violence and provoking opposition." The population of San Juan was indeed an unfortunate race.

President Derqui, in consultation with the ubiquitous Governor of Buenos Aires, promptly appointed an Intervention Commission for the distracted province. General Juan Sáa, governor of San Luis, and friend of both Virasoro and Urquiza, together with two *Porteños*, formed the Commission. Dr. Antonio Aberastain, leader of the Liberal revolt which had overthrown Virasoro, proceeded to consolidate his position, securing his appointment as provisional governor of San Juan, and announcing that he intended to resist national intervention by force. General Sáa, the chief national intervmentor, moved troops from San Luis against the "rebel," possibly at Urquiza's instigation. Aberastain was defeated at the battle of Pocito on January 10, 1861, taken prisoner, and shot.<sup>14</sup>

Considerable political agitation attended these events in San Juan. Several members of the National Cabinet at Paraná, including a certain General Francia (Minister of War), notorious as a nominee of Urquiza's, approved the conduct of Sáa.<sup>15</sup> In Buenos Aires the greatest indignation prevailed. Mitre hinted that he intended to call upon the National Government to condemn and punish the excesses committed by General Sáa. To Urquiza the *Porteño* addressed words which barely concealed the charge of complicity:<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> M. A. Pelliza, *Historia de la organización nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1897), p. 296.

<sup>13a</sup> Mitre to Urquiza, Buenos Aires, December 15, 1860, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 144.

<sup>14</sup> Pelliza, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

<sup>15</sup> F. O. 6/232, Thornton to Russell (No. 12), Paraná, February 8, 1861.

<sup>16</sup> Mitre to Urquiza, Buenos Aires, January 25, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 178.

You know that I have always spoken the truth to you publicly, and that, had you taken my words to heart, many evils would have been averted. I spoke to you on the occasion of the first elections at Buenos Aires, and of the first invasion of San Juan to reinstate Benavides. I addressed you when the *Acuerdo de San Nicolás* was signed, and on the eve of the September Revolution,—you, the victor of Caseros, the Liberator at the head of 20,000 men. I brought the truth respectfully to your notice during the civil war [1852-3], and I have not spared my words on more recent occasions. All this I have done so that justice may prevail in public affairs, for on each occasion I was moved solely by my conscience and the urgings of my reason.

Examine your own conscience, and tell me if you know of any man who has spoken with more loyalty, disinterest, or intimate knowledge of men and affairs, whose predictions have been more than realized to the letter, simply because evils which could have been averted were allowed to spread for want of attention at the time.

On February 2, 1861, Mitre formally asked the National Government for an explanation of General Saa's conduct in San Juan. The people of Buenos Aires, he argued, had a right to know what line of conduct the national authorities were pursuing in the internal affairs of different provinces: what were the Government's intentions regarding San Juan? Dr. Olmos, National Minister of the Interior, sharply replied<sup>17</sup> that an explanation would be forthcoming from the Governor of San Luis, but he denied the right of the *Porteño* Government to call the Paraná Government to task in the matter; the latter body was responsible for its acts solely to Congress, in which all the provinces were duly represented. It would be an extremely inconvenient precedent in practice, hinted Dr. Olmos, if governors of provinces were allowed to interfere in the actions of the national governor in this way.

Irritated by Mitre's tone and his own failure to secure a footing in Buenos Aires, General Urquiza changed his tactics. According to Consul Thornton,<sup>18</sup>

... to his great disappointment he now finds his efforts are entirely unavailing, and that the ruling party at Buenos Aires are pursuing untiring propagandism against certain interior provinces, whose mode

<sup>17</sup> F. O. 6/232, Thornton to Russell (No. 18), Paraná, February 22, 1861.

<sup>18</sup> F. O. 6/232, Thornton to Russell (No. 3), Paraná, January 21, 1861.

of government, it must be confessed, is sufficiently arbitrary. Impulsive General Urquiza now expatiates to all who listen to him upon the bad faith of Buenos Airians and their bad influence.

For the moment, at least, President Derqui had the advantage over his predecessor, thought Thornton:<sup>19</sup>

Despite the influence of General Urquiza, Derqui has also many friends in the different Provinces, who would probably rally round him to maintain Union with Buenos Aires, with the hope of the simultaneous establishment of a more liberal policy concerning themselves. Derqui will . . . do his utmost to preserve the union of the 14 Provinces, and in doing so will no doubt be able to count upon the aid of the present government of Buenos Aires.

At the beginning of 1861 the province of Buenos Aires proceeded to elect, by the terms of the November Pact, delegates to the first National Congress. So completely indifferent was the populace that two elections were held before a sufficient number could be induced to vote and give an appearance of legality. In February the Paraná Congress rejected the credentials of the *Porteño* delegates so elected on the ground that they should have been elected according to the general Electoral Law passed by Congress during the secession of Buenos Aires. The *Porteño* Government insisted that observance of the Provincial Electoral Law had been authorized by Article 41 of the Constitution of 1853.<sup>20</sup> President Derqui himself was in favor of admitting the Buenos Airean deputies to Congress, but the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, yielding to pressure exerted by Urquiza, voted for rejection, demanding that fresh elections be held at Buenos Aires. Congress postponed the opening of fresh sessions until May 1, 1861, in

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Article 41 runs: "The provincial legislatures shall regulate the manner of holding the first direct election of the deputies of the nation; Congress shall enact a general law for succeeding elections." Dr. Juan Pujol, National Minister of the Interior, had informed the *Porteño* Government on October 28, 1860, that provincial elections must observe the national Electoral Law. But meantime Mitre had written to inform him that the elections would be held in accordance with the Provincial Electoral Law. Pujol acknowledged Mitre's letter perfunctorily, without noting its contents. Thus the Paraná Government had unwittingly assented to election by Provincial Law.



order to allow sufficient time for the re-election. In the words of Consul Sir Woodbine Parish:<sup>21</sup>

the strongest antagonism to Buenos Aires exists on the part of the majority of the provincial deputies, who are all elected in the most vicious form, and are each representatives of the ruling power in the Provinces, which has for years past been derived from the control preserved in General Urquiza's hands. . . . The whole was evidently a preconcerted plan determined by General Urquiza and his party, and carried out in spite of all their constitutional forms and laws. . . .

Writing to Urquiza in April, 1861, General Mitre confessed that only two solutions were apparent to him, separation or war. There was, of course, the alternative of unstable equilibrium, neither wholly peace nor wholly war, but this would be more deplorable than either. Towards Urquiza himself Mitre's attitude seems to have softened, for he even admitted a certain kinship:<sup>22</sup>

The very fact that I found myself at the head of the men who favoured the existing state of affairs (*que representaban la actualidad*) at Buenos Aires linked up my efforts with yours, which stood for progress and the powers that be in the Confederation, so that we might bring about union, concord, legal incorporation, and a real fusion of the interests of both parties, so that we might realize that a nation with daggers drawn is a calamity and a delusion.

It was the turn of Mitre to envy the achievements of the general whom he had so recently attacked:<sup>23</sup>

Your part in the task was easier than mine. You fulfilled a burning desire of the people, meeting a distinct need; you have earned glory because you worked with a sense of public interests at heart, carving for yourself a contented future and a fame after death which is worthy of being recorded for all time.

Mitre contrasted his own precarious hold over the *Porteños*:<sup>24</sup>

My task is a difficult one, and many think it impossible. I have to overcome opposition, tempering hatred, exacting sacrifices. I must aim not only at legal union but at real reconciliation, facing the accu-

<sup>21</sup> F. O. 6/235, Parish to Russell (No. 5), Buenos Aires, March 28, 1861.

<sup>22</sup> Mitre to Urquiza, Buenos Aires, April 25, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 239.

<sup>23</sup> Mitre to Urquiza, Buenos Aires, April 25, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 240.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

sations of one section of my friends, and ignoring the apathy of others. . . .

The difficulties confronting me at the moment are two: San Juan and the rejection by Congress of the Buenos Airean deputies,—San Juan, because it pandered to the opposition against which I am struggling;—the rejection of the deputies, because it provided the opposition with an incentive such as would completely wreck my policy of union.

In May, 1861, the *Porteño* Government withdrew its monthly subsidy of \$1,500,000 to the National Treasury,<sup>25</sup> offering later to renew it provided that the question of electing deputies to Congress were deferred until the next general election (1864). Probably by this move the *Porteños* intended indefinitely to postpone reunion with the other provinces, or at least until their own position was sound.<sup>26</sup> Possibly, too, the *Porteño* Government hoped to induce President Derqui to throw off the irksome control of Urquiza. The gesture went for nothing. An attempt, moreover, by the Liberal party of Buenos Aires to engineer a revolution in Córdoba—intended as the first of a series of Liberal revolutions throughout the interior provinces<sup>27</sup>—was crushed by the president himself.

On July 6, 1861, the Paraná Government issued an ultimatum,<sup>28</sup> declaring that the Government of Buenos Aires had violated the treaties of 1859-60, "thereby forfeiting all the rights which those Treaties guaranteed to it." The attitude of the *Porteño* Government, continued the decree, constituted an act of sedition, and the province in question was accordingly declared to be in a state of siege. For the purposes of "compelling obedience, and prohibiting all official and commercial intercourse with that province," Congress authorized intervention in Buenos Aires by the national authorities. No peace proposals were to be entertained by the national executive, concluded the document, until they had first been submitted to Congress.

<sup>25</sup> V. M. de Moussy, *Description géographique* (Paris, 1860-4), III, 628-9.

<sup>26</sup> F. O. 6/235, Parish to Russell (No. 12), Buenos Aires, June 26, 1861.

<sup>27</sup> *Archivo Mitre*, XXII, 175ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Registro Oficial (Nacional) de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1879-84), IV, No. 5468. The decree was finally re-issued without the clause prohibiting commercial intercourse with Buenos Aires.

Despite the mustering of garrisons and squadrons on the part of both of the rival governments, the French, British, and Peruvian ministers at Paraná—Lefèvre de Bécourt, Thornton, and Levane—eagerly offered a joint mediation.<sup>29</sup> It was unfortunate that their overtures should clash with the Paraná ultimatum of July 6, and the draft of Derqui's peace terms showed only too plainly his uncompromising attitude:

1. That the Island of Martín García should be given up to the National Forces, or that it should remain unoccupied by either, and that its neutrality should be guaranteed in an effective manner.
2. That the Buenos Aires ships of war should be disarmed, and that only sufficient land forces to protect the frontiers against the Indians should be kept under arms.
3. That the National Government should have the entire power to legislate for the Customs-Houses of the 13 Provinces, and even to impose differential duties against Buenos Aires, should they think proper.
4. That the expenses of the present hostile preparations should be paid by Buenos Aires, and
5. That the National Government should have entire jurisdiction over the Province of Buenos Aires with regard to Foreign Relations.

The time seemed inopportune for negotiation. On July 11 Congress at Paraná empowered the national government to organize the militia, "in order to compel Buenos Aires to fulfill her engagements." In the same month the *Porteño* legislature voted a sum of some £240,000 for the purposes of war propaganda, despite a deficit of £250,000 in the provincial budget for 1861. General Urquiza, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the national forces, wrote in provocative fashion to Mitre:<sup>30</sup>

I am prepared for war. Everything is ready, and requires only the prompting of my voice to set it in motion. Without boasting, I may say that I am quite confident of victory.

<sup>29</sup> F. O. 6/233, Thornton to Russell (No. 64), Paraná, July 6, 1861; also *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 9-99.

<sup>30</sup> Urquiza to Mitre, San José, June 25, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VII, 271.



President Derqui now bitterly accused Mitre of intrigue and treachery. While Derqui remained obdurate in negotiation, the belligerent Urquiza professed to welcome the offers of Bécourt and Thornton. At the same time he warned them that he did not wish the *Porteño* Government to learn of his pacific intentions, lest it should take advantage of them.<sup>31</sup> The three mediators proceeded to Buenos Aires, where they arrived on July 14, 1861. The acting governor, Manuel Ocampo, stated that his government would accept their good offices, but that the provincial governor, General Mitre, could only be consulted, characteristically enough, at headquarters, "on the march, near San Nicolás."<sup>32</sup>

No reasonable exception could be taken to the peace terms suggested by the mediators, which included a return to the *status quo* of June, 1860, postponement of incorporation until the elections of 1864, and renewal of the monthly provincial subsidy. General Mitre proved willing to accept such conditions, and declared that he was extremely desirous of peace.<sup>33</sup> Not so Derqui. In a confidential letter ("on the march, leaving Córdoba, July 21"), he thanked the mediators for their good offices, but refused to retract from the peace terms which he had already formulated. Following his cleavage with the Liberal Party at Buenos Aires, Derqui seems to have turned for support to his strong arm, General Urquiza—a perceptible volte-face. He now held that Mitre had deceived him by attempting to stir ill-feeling between Urquiza and himself, by pretending to befriend each against the other.<sup>34</sup> Reluctant at first to engage in conference with Mitre, President Derqui was eventually persuaded to accept the more moderate peace terms of Bécourt and Thornton as a basis for discussion.<sup>35</sup>

Having secured a meeting of the three potentates—Derqui, Urquiza, and Mitre—on board the *Oberon* (off Las Piedras), the negotiators made it their immediate object to induce the parties concerned to draw up and sign a definitive agreement.

<sup>31</sup> F. O. 6/233, Thornton to Russell (No. 69), H. M. S. *Ardent*, July 10, 1861.

<sup>32</sup> F. O. 6/233, Thornton to Russell (No. 70), Buenos Aires, July 16, 1861.

<sup>33</sup> F. O. 6/233, Thornton to Russell (No. 73), Rosario, July 25, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 74), Paraná, August 7, 1861.

President Derqui and Governor Mitre might then submit that agreement to their respective legislatures for official sanction. The proposed bases were:<sup>86</sup>

1. That the incorporation of the Deputies for Buenos Aires shall be deferred until 1864 or 1865, when the elections should be held in accordance with the National Law.
2. That meanwhile Buenos Aires should pay a monthly subsidy of not less than one million dollars; that import and export duties should be paid at the ports nearest the place of consumption, and that the National Government should not establish differential tariffs.

A two hours' discussion followed. Mitre refused to consider Derqui's proposed neutralization of the Island of Martín García. Derqui objected to the maintenance of war-vessels by Buenos Aires, except for patrol purposes under the supervision of the national government. Mitre protested against this proviso, but without heat. Discussion became more temperate, and it was even agreed that some agreement might be reached regarding the direction of foreign affairs. "After two hours," reported Thornton,<sup>87</sup> "General Urquiza, Derqui, and Mitre parted with more cordiality than they had met."

Two Commissioners, Dr. Molinas for the National Government, and Dr. Norberto de la Riestra for that of Buenos Aires, proceeded directly to discuss terms in detail<sup>88</sup> (August 15-24), although it soon became apparent that Riestra was bound hand and foot by the implicit instructions which Mitre had given him. Molinas had been directed by Derqui to insist on the complete evacuation, dismantling, and neutralization of Martín García as a *sine qua non*; the monthly subsidy paid by Buenos Aires was to be fixed at two million dollars. Riestra replied that his government did not intend to contribute more than \$750,000 monthly to the national treasury. A further conference was held.<sup>89</sup> Riestra proved as unbending as

<sup>86</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 74), Paraná, August 7, 1861.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 75), Rosario, August 21, 1861.

<sup>89</sup> Protocolo de la última conferencia á bordo del 'Oberon,' August 22, 1861, cited in Argentine Republic, *Tratados, convenciones, protocolos y acuerdos internacionales*, ed. by F. Centeno (Buenos Aires, 1911-12), X, 484ff.

before, for Mitre refused to negotiate regarding Martín García, the direction of foreign affairs, or the question of the custody of *Porteño* war-vessels. Riestra even declined to consider a convention *sub spe rati*, postponing the incorporation of Buenos Aires until 1865, with a revised provincial election of deputies to Congress. Molinas gave ground: he agreed on the acceptance of a monthly subsidy of \$1,000,000, and limited national control of *Porteño* foreign affairs. Further concession did not seem possible without virtual capitulation on the part of the Paraná Government; on August 24 negotiations were abandoned, and a truce of five days was agreed upon.

While the issue was still an open one, Mitre had written from Rojas on August 15:<sup>40</sup>

It is my private opinion that if a national vote were taken for war, the genuinely popular sentiment at Buenos Aires would be for peace. . . . It is also my conviction that the only full and true benefit which one can bestow on these countries, demoralized as they are by the spectacle of continual warfare . . . is peace, secured and maintained by the strength of the institutions which Buenos Aires stands for. . . .

The era of Caseros and other such military triumphs must make way, in Mitre's opinion, for a new policy of peace and social regeneration.

Another would-be mediator, Félix Frías, a leading Paraná deputy and friend of Urquiza, now pleaded<sup>41</sup> with both Urquiza and Mitre to avoid civil war at all costs. Ironically enough, it was the Entre Rian general who now professed a pacific policy. He who had boasted of war now seemed unwilling to commence hostilities "unless the Buenos Aires Government clearly put themselves in the wrong in the eyes of the world, either by sending troops across the frontier, or by openly declaring war."<sup>42</sup> To Dr. Frías, Urquiza confessed:<sup>43</sup>

I desire peace, Señor Frías, at the cost of all that is mine, for war is barbarism, and nothing will induce me to undertake it.

<sup>40</sup> Mitre to Ocampo, Rojas, August 15, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 59.

<sup>41</sup> *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 80-83, etc.

<sup>42</sup> F. O. 6/233, Thornton to Russell (No. 58), Paraná, July 20, 1861.

<sup>43</sup> Urquiza to Frías, cuartel general en marcha, August 20, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 87.



Mitre scorned Urquiza's "conversion." "You tell me that General Urquiza desires peace . . . at any price," he wrote to Frías.<sup>44</sup> Why then, asked Mitre, did he not exert his influence to prevent the recent breakdown of negotiations? The *Porteño* governor declared that, for his part, he was prepared to stand by the offer of a monthly subsidy of \$1,000,000 to the National Treasury, but beyond that he would not go. The truth was, asserted Mitre, that Urquiza was a political weather-cock, following one line of policy one day, and the opposite the next. Urquiza had evidently found that he could not ride roughshod over Buenos Aires hence his sudden anxiety for peace. Buenos Aires had ignored his intrigues (the San Juan affair was probably in Mitre's mind), since it could afford to do so; the impossible had become possible: "a province could hold a nation at bay, because that province was as powerful, if not more powerful, in its present state, than the nation."<sup>45</sup>

On the eve of the battle, added Mitre, my conscience is calm, my mind untroubled, for the only worthy prize is peace, and the only worthy ideal is to ensure the triumph of my cause and people. If duty calls me to undertake war, I shall accept the challenge without flinching, without rancour (*odio*). I shall undertake the war with decision and confidence, and conduct it with all the energy and expedition that circumstances permit.

With indecision hovering over the opposite camp, Governor Mitre had evidently become war-minded. Although José Mármol, himself an inveterate *Porteño* agitator, pointed out to the general on August 25 that if the separation of Buenos Aires could be procured on a peace basis, war was an inhuman, not to say, senseless, alternative, Mitre refused to compromise:<sup>46</sup>

The people of Buenos Aires, that champion of causes in the Río de la Plata, he proudly declared, must establish their predominance by a military triumph which shall redound to their pride.

Mitre had consistently spurned the idea of an independent Buenos Aires, just as he had rejected the concept of an Argen-

<sup>44</sup> Mitre to Frías, cuartel general en el Arroyo Dulce, September 7, 1861, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>46</sup> Mitre to Mármol, Arroyo Dulce, September 3, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 99.

along the Arroyo del Medio, concentrating vanguard and cavalry on the banks of the Sauce and Pavón, and covering his base, Rosario. Mitre determined on a flank attack: a direct advance had been forestalled, while to undertake a cross-country march with the roads and *campaña* in their existing condition would be merely to expose the whole frontier of the Arroyo del Medio to hostile depredations. The Cordovan infantry—believed to be disaffected—occupied a position in the centre of Urquiza's army, and a flank attack would be directed chiefly against the Entre Rian, San Luisan, and Santa Fecino divisions. To take the offensive before reinforcements reached Urquiza was, in any case, Mitre's first thought.

For both its terseness and moderation, Mitre's own account of the battle of Pavón to Colonel Gelly y Obes, the *Porteño* War Minister, deserves quotation:<sup>54</sup>

I have the honour to inform you that last night [September 16] I commenced the invasion of the territory of Santa Fé, crossing the Arroyo del Medio towards the north. This morning I marched against the enemy at the head of 15,000 men, with 34 pieces of artillery, this comprising the army of operations of the Province.

Whilst on the march against the enemy, I severed his line of battle, isolating two divisions, and drove his vanguard across the Cañada Rica. Here I encountered the enemy's forces in a body of, to all appearances, some 16 or 17,000 men, in three armies, with 42 pieces of artillery, some of heavy calibre.

At 2:30 p.m. firing commenced on both sides; we advanced to within half a cannon-shot of the enemy line, the centre of which was deployed upon a strong position at the Estancia de los Palacios, with its rear to the Pavón. Having shaken his line with a heavy cannonade of a few moments' duration, I ordered my Chief of Staff, Colonel Paunero, to advance forthwith and attack the enemy infantry and cavalry. Colonel Paunero . . . executed this order with rapidity, bravery, and skill, taking the entire centre of the enemy under a deadly fire of musketry and guns. He put the enemy infantry to flight, taking the greater part of their guns and many prisoners. . . .

Both wings of our cavalry were surrounded, some 300 men alone remaining on the field of battle, including my escort of National Guards, part of which I placed under the orders of General Hornos.

<sup>54</sup> Carta del Exmo. General Mitre, Pavón, September 17, 1861, cited in M. A. Pelliza, *Historia de la organización nacional*, pp. 321-3.

The latter, after great efforts to contain his left wing, joined the triumphant centre with such troops as he could collect; he then took 37 enemy ammunition wagons from a column of cavalry. . . .

At 4:30 p.m. our infantry remained in undisturbed possession of the battlefield. A large portion of the enemy cavalry had dispersed, but we continue to take many prisoners up to this present hour of midnight. Our 18 battalions of infantry and artillery are now reunited, saving those slain on the battlefield; our wounded, we have picked up.

The trophies of this victory so far consist of 1,200 prisoners, 6 flags, 2 standards, 37 pieces of artillery, including those of heavy calibre, and the 14 pieces which we lost at Cepeda; also some 5,000 horse, the whole of the military stores, commissariat and ambulances of the enemy, nearly 2,000 muskets, left behind in the flight, and over 1,000 taken from stores. Among the prisoners are many chiefs and officers, almost all of them belonging to the artillery. . . .

To meet the *Porteño* flank attack, Urquiza had hurriedly reformed his lines but, instead of quarter-wheeling into the new position, the first regiment of infantry remained immobile, and then turned tail.<sup>55</sup> The effect was disastrous, and the Cordovan infantry followed suit, despite brisk firing by the Confederation artillery.<sup>56</sup> Mitre now employed his superior infantry with telling effect; the opposing centre broke up and dispersed in precipitate flight. Artillery suffered much the same fate. General Francia, who held the command of the Confederation centre, retreated to the Arroyo del Medio with all the troops and artillery he could retrieve.<sup>57</sup> The engagement had lasted only one and a half hours.

Meanwhile, on the wings, the Entre Rian cavalry had routed the *Porteño* horse, and the typical *gaucho* pursuit which followed deprived Urquiza of his most valuable troops at the critical hour of the battle. The object was evidently plunder.

By 4 p.m. firing had ceased along a widely scattered line. General Urquiza, on the right wing, found none of the enemy in his immediate vicinity, although he expected nothing short of a triumph on the part of Virasoro, the commander of the

<sup>55</sup> M. Ruiz Moreno, *La Presidencia del Dr. Santiago Derqui y la batalla de Pavón* (Buenos Aires, 1913), I, 349.

<sup>56</sup> E. G. Carrasco, *Anales de la ciudad del Rosario* (Buenos Aires, 1897), p. 502.

<sup>57</sup> F. O. 6/233, Parish to Russell (No. 18), Buenos Aires, September 26, 1861.



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<sup>57</sup> F. O. 6/233, Parish to Russell (No. 18), Buenos Aires, September 26, 1861.

left wing, whose pursuit of the enemy had been a vigorous one. News, however, now reached Urquiza that General Francia, commanding the centre, had been defeated and was retiring. "I could only presume," remarked Urquiza,<sup>58</sup> "that the left wing had suffered the same fate as the centre, since none of the cavalry returned to the field of battle after the cessation of firing."

At 5 p.m. General Urquiza retired from Pavón with three reserve regiments intact. General Galarza was ordered to follow with his cavalry in the direction of Rosario, where Urquiza intended to reorganize his forces. The active Dr. Molinas, the Confederation Foreign Minister, had already been entrusted with the defence of Rosario,<sup>59</sup> and Urquiza's instructions now reached him to the effect that the national squadron stationed there was to engage with the *Porteño* flotilla, and secure command of the upper Río Paraná.<sup>60</sup> Urquiza realized that Mitre had been left on the field of Pavón without cavalry, and could move but slowly; there was still time to retrieve the situation.<sup>61</sup>

But news of the Federal defeat had thrown Rosario into a panic. Dr. Molinas believed further assistance useless, ordered the national squadron to return up-river to San Lorenzo, and boarded a Paraguayan steamer for Paraná, with a few fugitive officers for company. Urquiza arrived at Rosario to find that he had been betrayed on every hand. He proceeded forthwith to his own province of Entre Ríos, resigning his command in favor of General Virasoro, and washing his hands of all further responsibility. No plea of President Derqui's would move him, the Entre Rian forces deserting *en masse*.

General Urquiza's retreat has been criticized as the outcome of a previous arrangement made with Mitre; the actual encounter, argues the historian Antonio Díaz,<sup>62</sup> was a mere

<sup>58</sup> Cited in M. Ruiz Moreno, *La Presidencia*, II, 181ff.

<sup>59</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 91), Rosario, September 22, 1861.

<sup>60</sup> Molinas afterwards declared that he had received no such instruction from Urquiza (Ruiz Moreno, *op. cit.*, 367). <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 181ff.

<sup>62</sup> A. Díaz, *Historia política y militar de las repúblicas del Plata* (Montevideo, 1877-8), X, 216-217.



show of arms, and the whole object of the campaign was to heap disgrace upon President Derqui without endangering Urquiza's position. Yet the battle of Pavón had been no military parade: firing had been brisk throughout its short duration, and the casualties were numerous enough. Had there been a pre-arrangement with Mitre, Urquiza would have jeopardized his position quite unnecessarily by attempting a sham battle. Why did he endeavour to come to terms with Mitre on the very eve of Pavón, if not to secure an agreement previously denied to him? As it was, Urquiza's retreat and abandonment of his command without official consultation undoubtedly weakened his prestige.<sup>63</sup> It is inconceivable that he deliberately underwent such ignominy merely to gain security at the expense of Derqui. Such a policy would have been far more effectively carried out had he refused the national command in the first place, and concentrated his efforts on perfecting his almost impregnable position in Entre Ríos.

It is at least certain that General Urquiza lacked his former confidence in his troops. Numerous and constant desertions were partly the cause. Fourteen of his own bodyguard had been shot for desertion on the eve of Pavón itself.<sup>64</sup> Of the Cordovan divisions, sufficient has been said to show their utter unreliability. For his part, Urquiza confessed that he had risen from a bed of sickness in order to take part in the battle, and that the day's campaigning had caused him considerable suffering. During the actual battle he had been obliged to rest, relying on *aides-de-camp* for contact with the various divisions of his line.

Dr. Ruiz Moreno would have us believe that Urquiza was the victim of circumstances,<sup>65</sup> and there was surely something in the mental make-up of the man which contributed far more to his defeat at Pavón than any generalship or advantage possessed by Mitre. Once he had relinquished the presidency, Urquiza became a prey to mixed motives. Early in 1860 he was angling for the support of the Liberal Party at Buenos Aires. It was a changed man who received the news of the

<sup>63</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 91), Rosario, September 22, 1861.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> M. Ruiz Moreno, *op. cit.*, II, 181ff.

assassination of his close friend, Governor Virasoro of San Juan. Henceforth, for the Entre Rian, there was to be war to the knife with Buenos Aires. Previously unable, and now unwilling, to gain the support of the Liberal Party at the metropolis himself, Urquiza was determined that Derqui should not succeed where he had failed. Pressure was exerted on the Paraná Congress in 1861 to bring matters to a crisis. The *casus belli* itself—the rejection of the *Porteño* delegates by Congress—was engineered largely by Urquiza, against Derqui's desire. General Sáa's military intervention in San Juan, with its consequent massacre of would-be Liberals, placed a further obstacle in the way of reconciliation between Derqui and Mitre. The governor of Entre Ríos lived in constant fear that some such fate as that of his friend, Governor Virasoro, might one day be his—a startling premonition, as events proved.<sup>66</sup> The ultimatum of the Paraná Congress of July 6, 1861, pushed through the Chamber of Deputies by Urquiza, was no doubt intended to clinch the matter.

Confident though he had been of victory in May, 1861, General Urquiza took stock of the situation in the following July, and found it not to his liking; he entreated Mitre to accept the gage of war only if it were inevitable.<sup>67</sup> President Derqui had made no systematic preparations for a campaign; he had not even considered the possibility of securing a foreign alliance—a favorite expedient of Urquiza himself before the campaigns of Caseros and Cepeda. And why should Urquiza fight the battles of another, with no gain to himself? Were he to defeat the forces of Buenos Aires, the effect would be merely to consolidate Derqui's position for another four years of office. Urquiza had much to lose and little to gain

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 367-79. Urquiza's fears were realized to the full in 1870: "During the siesta . . . a band of ruffians headed by a negro named Luna burst upon the scene. The General, with his saber in his hand, went out to meet them accompanied but by his daughter, armed with a brace of pistols. She opened fire by killing one of the assassins, but was soon overpowered and stretched senseless by a blow from an iron-loaded whip. The General, fighting like a tiger, to the last, fell pierced with a hundred wounds. The whole affair lasted but a few minutes, and before the astonished guards had apprehended what was passing, the murderers had swung themselves upon their horses and were far out upon the plains." (R. B. C. Graham, *José Antonio Páez* [London, 1929], pp. 307-8.)

<sup>67</sup> Urquiza to Mitre, Diamante, July 11, 1861, *Archivo Mitre*, VIII, 28.

at Pavón. One of the major objects of the war was to save the Paraná treasury from virtual bankruptcy, but no supplies had been voted to Urquiza as commander-in-chief. The expenses involved in bringing an army into the field had been defrayed from his own purse. Hence Urquiza's enthusiastic sponsoring of negotiations by Bécourt and Thornton; hence his dramatic declaration to Félix Frías in August, his eleventh hour offer to Mitre of peace at any reasonable price.

No longer his own master, reluctant to fight, and inadequately supported, Urquiza provided a contrast to the opposing commander-in-chief. While Urquiza was about sixty years of age, with his health impaired by stone in the bladder, Mitre was comparatively young and vigorous, however much his appearance may have belied this. Although the Entre Rian decried him as "*General de Papel*," Mitre at least brought to his task a singleness of mind, preparedness, enthusiasm, and a plan of campaign. Yet it was probably Urquiza's own defeatism which decided the day: he accepted the possibility of reverse all too readily, and immediately turned his thoughts, perhaps naturally enough, to the defence of Entre Ríos and the avoidance of further bloodshed.<sup>68</sup> Was it his real intention to make a stand at Rosario? To disprove this would be to infer that Urquiza deliberately exposed the riverain and interior provinces, including his own, to *Porteño* invasion and civil war. For want of documentary evidence either for or against a prior arrangement between Urquiza and Mitre, the battle of Pavón and Urquiza's subsequent retreat must remain something of a mystery.<sup>69</sup>

Several days of confusion followed the battle of Pavón. The defection of the bulk of the Entre Rian forces more than

<sup>68</sup> Carta oficial del general Arquiza, cited in Ruiz Moreno, *op. cit.*, II, 118ff.

<sup>69</sup> So confident were the people of Entre Ríos of Urquiza's victory that they even anticipated it with a celebration: "Various amusing episodes are recounted about the deception suffered by the friends of General Urquiza in Montevideo and Entre Ríos. In the former place, their newspaper published a victory for him, and the eldest son, don Diogenes, held a banquet on the strength of the news: but whilst the libations waxed loud and merry, a paper was thrust into his hand which changed the joy of Bacchus into the mourning of Pluto, and his guests decamped amidst 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth' leaving their host 'alone in his glory.' " (*Commercial Times* of Buenos Aires, September 23, 1861, enclosure in F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 94), Rosario, October 1, 1861.)



negativated any triumph of Virasoro's cavalry, the majority of whom were plundering the defenceless *estancias* of the province of Buenos Aires. Derqui declared the country to be in a state of siege, and, handing over the temporary charge of his office to Pedernera, the Vice-President, left Paraná for Rosario,<sup>70</sup> confident that Mitre could not advance without cavalry or supplies. Colonel Sáa was appointed to the command of the army of the centre, and General Virasoro received instructions to cut off Mitre's communications and invade the *campaña* of Buenos Aires; Derqui apparently hoped that this would lead to a provincial rising, the enforced resignation of Mitre, and a *coup d'état* at the metropolis in his own favor: so would he become undisputed master of the republic.<sup>71</sup>

Facts proved otherwise, and all Derqui's subsequent efforts show how sadly he had miscalculated. He himself was isolated at Rosario; his two generals, Sáa and Virasoro, were soon at loggerheads.<sup>72</sup> Cavalry reinforcements reached Mitre in spite of Virasoro, and Mitre proceeded to advance on Rosario. Derqui's subsequent evacuation set the stage for the *Porteño* conquest of the interior provinces.

Despite his overwhelming advantages, Mitre realized that the situation required careful handling. At this point he would no doubt have welcomed a series of "Liberal" revolutions in the up-river provinces. His army was growing weary of campaigning, and the *Guardia Nacional*, in particular, was anxious to rest on its laurels. Much depended on the attitude of the government of Buenos Aires. Several leading *Porteños* were opposed to a policy of "peaceful penetration" into the interior, while the ultra-*Unitarios* violently denounced any suggestion of an *entente* with General Urquiza. The Entre Rian, not without certain misgivings as to his own safety, had already approached the victor. Mitre assured the French and British ministers at Rosario that Urquiza had no intention of opposing his progress, promising his adherence to the new order of things provided that life and property were assured

<sup>70</sup> I. Bucich-Escobar, *Los Presidentes argentinos*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>71</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 22), Rosario, September 22, 1861.

<sup>72</sup> J. Victorica, *Urquiza y Mitre*, p. 246.

to him. "Mitre," observed Thornton,<sup>73</sup> "spoke so positively that we formed the impression that he was in direct communication with General Urquiza."

The deadlock was brought to an end on November 5, 1861, by the formal resignation of Derqui, after a presidency lasting only eighteen months.<sup>74</sup> His letter on this momentous occasion has been held to contain a covert allusion to the effect that his flight was due not so much to Mitre's advance as to the machinations of General Urquiza.<sup>75</sup>

I have come to the conclusion [wrote Derqui to the Vice-President, Pedernera] that my presence at the head of the national administration only presents an obstacle, the removal of which would bring the existing situation in the Republic to an end without endangering either its honour or its well-being. I have therefore decided to tender my resignation.

In the form of resignation which has to be sent to the Federal Congress I shall detail the reasons which have prompted me to take so important a step. It was due in no way, I assure you, to the presence of the enemy.

Events now took a decisive turn, thanks to the energy of General Venancio Flores, Colonel Mariano Paunero, and a number of other Colorado exiles from Uruguay who had fought for Mitre at Pavón. The "rounding-up" of the remaining Federal forces in the field was a task which appealed to these turbulent Oriental *gauchos*, who had old scores to settle, whatever Mitre's intentions in the matter might be. To force the provinces to submit at the edge of the sword militated against the victor's political creed, for attachment to constitutional forms and principles, to the dictates of reason rather than passion, was almost an obsession with General Mitre. In 1852 he had vigorously denounced Urquiza's assumption of arbitrary powers without popular consent; it

<sup>73</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 96), Rosario, October 12, 1861.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Derqui embarked on H. M. S. *Ardent*, and proceeded with his family to Montevideo. He was later involved in certain Correntino intrigues on the eve of the Paraguayan War of 1865-70, and died later in poverty. (I. Bucich-Escobar, *Los presidentes*, p. 57.)

<sup>75</sup> Buenos Aires, Universidad. *Documentos relativos á la organización constitucional* (Buenos Aires, 1911-14), I, 261. Derqui apparently never detailed to Congress his alleged reasons for resignation.

hardly became him, as champion of the Liberal Party at Buenos Aires, to adopt similar tactics in 1861. D. F. Sarmiento, later to become so prominent a figure in Argentine history, conjectured that, had Mitre declared himself *de facto* president of the republic at this juncture, the country would soon have been ablaze with revolution.<sup>76</sup> To temporize, to await the logical outcome of events, to encourage with arms, if need be, any favorable movements in the interior—such a policy was not only well suited to the man but also to the occasion.

To the irresponsible and reckless Colorado *gaucho*, General Venancio Flores, Mitre's friend, this inactivity, however masterly, merely acted as a slow irritant. Flores well remembered the day of Quinteros, when Colorados had been slain and neighboring Federals had applauded. He decided that the moment had arrived for a little overdue blood-letting, and, scorning Mitre's caution, he swooped on the remaining cavalry of Virasoro in Santa Fé, massacring them to a man—some twelve hundred in all.<sup>77</sup> No tactics could have been more effective against the *caudillos* of the interior provinces. They could not understand Mitre's attitude, and probably, like Urquiza, even effected to treat it as a sign of weakness. But this hecatomb brought a sense of realities. The most formidable of the Federal leaders of the interior—General Sáa, and the governors of Mendoza and San Juan, fled for Chile. At the beginning of December, 1861, a "Liberal" revolution broke out in Córdoba; in Corrientes the reactionary cleric leader, Padre Rolon, was overthrown; in San Juan, Sarmiento, until of late a Unitarian exile, took over the reins of government.<sup>78</sup> With the exception of Catamarca, Salta, and Entre Ríos, all the former strongholds of Federalism followed the lead of Córdoba and Corrientes, declaring their willingness, nay anxiety, to accept the national leadership of Buenos Aires. The Paraná Congress had closed its sessions on October 1, and on December 12 the National Executive Power, vested in the

<sup>76</sup> A. Palcos, *Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires, 1929), p. 182.

<sup>77</sup> F. O. 6/235, Parish to Russell (No. 20), Buenos Aires, November 27, 1861.

<sup>78</sup> A. Palcos, *Sarmiento*, p. 182.



person of Vice-President Juan E. Pedernera, was declared to be in recess.<sup>79</sup>

The position of General Urquiza, who had been reduced to playing a lone hand, was a peculiar one. Once the demoralizing effects of his reverse had worn off, the Governor of Entre Ríos no longer talked to Mitre of coöperation, but boldly mentioned terms: he suggested an alliance, based on a disavowal of the then existing national government at Paraná.<sup>80</sup> Once the latter had committed *hara-kiri*, a fresh situation arose, with national reorganization in immediate prospect. Urquiza provided the only real obstacle, and both Mitre and Flores were convinced that only an invasion of Entre Ríos would rid them of his presence.<sup>81</sup> "Send him to Southampton or the gallows!" cried the impetuous Sarmiento. So tense became the atmosphere that Urquiza ordered the mobilization of his provincial forces (some eight thousand men), refusing to surrender the Federal flotilla and provincial customs-houses which were in his keeping. In January, 1862, Mitre threatened to take forcible possession of these, declaring that he would not suspend military operations until he had driven General Urquiza out of the country.<sup>82</sup> The *Porteño* general was evidently still in a dilemma—the apathy of the interior and the divided counsels of his own government—and could do little more than rattle the sword in his scabbard. While he intimated that Urquiza's resignation as governor of Entre Ríos would soon become an official demand, he refused to invest Paraná as a preliminary move.

In the meantime [reported Thornton<sup>84</sup>] General Mitre remains at Santa Fé in the most incomprehensible state of inaction, although he must be well aware that Buenos Aires can ill afford the expense of his comparatively numerous forces, that the Government of that Province is much dissatisfied with the small results as yet obtained, and that there exists a large party who wish that military operations should be car-

<sup>79</sup> *Registro Oficial (Nacional)*, IV, No. 3559.

<sup>80</sup> *Vide*, M. Ruiz Moreno, *La Presidencia*, II, 259ff.

<sup>81</sup> F. O. 6/234, Thornton to Russell (No. 111), Paraná, December 7, 1861.

<sup>82</sup> A. Palcos, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>83</sup> F. O. 6/239, Thornton to Russell (No. 5), Paraná, January 10, 1862.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

ried on no further and that Buenos Aires should declare her independence.

Although rumors arose of Entre Rian intrigues in the provinces of San Juan, Corrientes, and Mendoza, Mitre's policy at length brought its justification. Thanks to the good offices of the untiring Bécourt and Thornton, a *rapprochement* was reached between Urquiza and Mitre. The custody of the Confederation flotilla was transferred to Buenos Aires, and Mitre was empowered by the Entre Rian government to convoke Congress.<sup>85</sup> By this time (February, 1862) the remaining provinces, with the belated exception of Salta, had already delegated National Executive Power to the *Porteño* governor, together with authority to convoke a legislative congress. After a lengthy debate in the provincial senate of Buenos Aires, it was agreed that the National Congress should meet in the metropolis. On April 12, 1862, provincial legislative elections were held, and on May 25 General Mitre, as governor of Buenos Aires and "Head of the Nation," opened the new Congress at Buenos Aires.<sup>86</sup>

In his speech to Congress,<sup>87</sup> Mitre declared that the existing interregnum was but transitory, and that the Argentine Republic would shortly arise strong, unified, and free: his task began where Urquiza's ended:

The re-organization of the Republic on the basis of justice, liberty and a reformed Constitution has been the watchword which has united all our desires. . . . The dangers which almost always beset periods of transition have been averted, and national unity has been preserved intact. . . .

Writing to J. C. Gómez in 1869, Mitre gave his matured reflections on the victory of Pavón:

Pavón [he said] is the great victory of the party which stands for Argentine liberty. The military victory lay with Buenos Aires, the moral and political victory with the provinces, without whose co-operation we should have been obliged to revert to the Arroyo del

<sup>85</sup> F. O. 6/239, Thornton to Russell (No. 10), Buenos Aires, February 6, 1862.

<sup>86</sup> *Registro Oficial (Nacional)*, IV, Nos. 5562, 5569.

<sup>87</sup> Mensaje del encargado del poder ejecutivo, cited in T. Victorica, *Urquiza y Mitre*, p. 254.

<sup>88</sup> J. J. Biedma, *Mitre*, pp. 82-3.

Medio [as our provincial boundary]. . . . Out of the chaos which followed Pavón arose unity and the Argentine nationality under the aegis of a common law; such was the solemn declaration of the Argentine Congress, freely assembled.

Victorica, violent partisan of Urquiza, enlarges on the essential truth of this judgment,<sup>89</sup> emphasizing the fact that the process of national reorganization dated from 1853, not 1862. The latter year marked merely the beginning of a fresh phase, of a fuller political and economic life.

To agree, on the other hand, with Mitre's biographer, Biedma, that "Pavón was the only battle of the Argentine civil war which left behind it no open wounds, no running sores,"<sup>90</sup> would be inaccurate. Customary as it is to regard General Mitre's victory in 1861 as his greatest service to his country, certain reservations must be made. The campaign of Pavón did leave behind it a very definite legacy; most important, perhaps, was the obligation which Mitre thereby incurred to Venancio Flores and the Colorados—a heritage which boded ill for the years which followed, with the Paraguayan War in their train. For the moment, however, there were apparent only the fruits of victory, and as the result of the presidential election of October, 1862, General Bartolomé Mitre entered upon his six years' term of office as first Constitutional President of the undivided Argentine Republic.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> J. Victorica, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>90</sup> J. J. Biedma, *Mitre*, p. 83.

<sup>91</sup> *Registro Oficial (Nacional)*, IV, No. 5565.



## THE RELATION OF HERNDON AND GIBBON'S EXPLORATION OF THE AMAZON TO NORTH AMERICAN SLAVERY, 1850-1855

Two ideas lay behind the exploration of the Amazon River by Lieutenant William Lewis Herndon and Passed Midshipman Lardner Gibbon, of the United States Navy, in 1851 and 1852. The more important and the more frequently expressed was that the region of the Amazon offered a rich field for development by American commercial enterprise; the other was that the Amazon Valley might be employed as an outlet for the increasing slave population of the United States. The commercial interests in the expedition have been recognized,<sup>1</sup> but the relation of this exploration of the Amazon to the institution of slavery in the United States has been less widely noticed. This note is concerned primarily with the latter aspect of the expedition.

The father of the project was the remarkable superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington, Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury.<sup>2</sup> Although not the first to suggest the potentialities of South American trade,<sup>3</sup> Maury

<sup>1</sup> The expedition is discussed in Lawrence F. Hill, *Diplomatic relations between the United States and Brazil* (Durham, N. C., 1932), pp. 218-222; Percy Alvin Martin, "The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce," *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I, 146-162 (May, 1918); and William Spence Robertson, *Hispanic-American relations with the United States* (New York, 1923), pp. 330-335.

<sup>2</sup> Biographical material on Maury may be found in Charles Lee Lewis, *Matthew Fontaine Maury: the pathfinder of the seas* (Annapolis, Md., 1927); Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin, comp., *A life of Matthew Fontaine Maury, U. S. N. and C. S. N., author of "Physical geography of the sea and its meteorology"* (London, 1888); and Ralph Minthorne Brown, comp., "Bibliography of Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury, including a biographical sketch," *Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Bulletin*, XXIV (December 1, 1930), No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Commerce of southern Peru," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, and Commercial Review*, VI (January, 1842), 62-64; "Trade and commerce of Brazil," *ibid.*, XII (February, 1845), 159-167; "Commerce and navigation of Brazil," *ibid.*, XIX (September, 1848), 321-323; J. B. D. DeBow, "The South American states," *DeBow's Review*, VI (July, 1848), 3-24.

made the plan to tap the region completely his own. It was he who urged the Navy Department to send out an exploring party; it was by his writings between 1850 and 1854 that the free navigation of the Amazon became for a short period an article of Southern economic doctrine; and his ideas are expressed in the final report of the expedition, which he helped to draft.

Maury first stated the importance of the Amazon to the commerce of the United States in an article on the trade of the Gulf of Mexico in *DeBow's Review* in 1849;<sup>4</sup> but it was in a memorial submitted to the Secretary of the Navy, William Ballard Preston, a few months later, on March 27, 1850, that he not only strongly and persuasively put the arguments for trade with the Amazon Valley, but also first intimated that the excess slave population of the United States might find an outlet in Brazil's great river valley. Suggesting that the opening of the Amazon to world commerce would have profound effects upon the domestic institutions of the United States, particularly on slavery, Maury asked, "Is the time yet to come when the United States are to be over-peopled with the black race? and if so where shall an outlet be found for them? In the valley of the Amazon? Will Brazil agree to stop the African slave trade and to depend on the Southern States for a transfer? Would it be wise to transfer the slaves of Mississippi Valley to the Valley of the Amazon?"<sup>5</sup> The free navigation of the Amazon, Maury wrote in a private letter a few weeks later, "is my remedy for preserving the Union."<sup>6</sup>

The sending of the expedition for which Maury prayed in his memorial was delayed by the changes in the Cabinet which followed the death of President Taylor in July, 1850. Immediately upon the reorganization of the Cabinet by President Fillmore, however, Maury sent the new Secretary of the Navy, William A. Graham, a longer, stronger, and more eloquent

<sup>4</sup> "Great commercial advantages of the Gulf of Mexico," *DeBow's Review*, VII (December, 1849), 510-523.

<sup>5</sup> Naval War Records Library, *Officers Letters*, March, 1850, No. 161.

<sup>6</sup> To Ann Maury, Washington, June 30, 1850 (copy). Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, *Maury Papers*, V, 496.

revision of his March memorial to Preston.<sup>7</sup> In October the Navy Department authorized the expedition and ordered Lieutenant William Lewis Herndon, who was Maury's brother-in-law, to lead the party. Herndon's orders, dated February 15, 1851, detailed the information concerning the economic and social condition of the Valley which the expedition was expected to obtain, but there was in them no suggestion of Maury's scheme of settling American Negro slaves in that region.<sup>8</sup>

Herndon's first reports to the Secretary from South America were enthusiastic. The lieutenant thought the country incomparably fertile and he expressed the belief "that if colonies of enterprising [*sic*] & industrious people were planted in these parts, and a free right of Navigation obtained by the Government of the U States, that an immense impetus would be given to the Commerce, and, thereby, to the wealth and power of our citizens."<sup>9</sup> He was fearful only that foreign powers, especially England, might anticipate American purposes. "Here grows spontaneously cotton enough to supply the world," he wrote, "the throwing of which into commerce would bring down the value of ours below the paying point, and make the looms of England independent of the cotton fields of the U States."<sup>10</sup> From Nauta, Peru, in September he reported that as the Indian natives were "lazy and indifferent beyond conception," the sole hope of developing the country lay in immigration. As for himself, Herndon expressed the hope that, "for the benefit of the human race," he might lead a band of settlers to this new frontier. "Should no opposition be offered by the Govt. holding the mouth of the river," he continued, "(and I should think it could not be so blind to its own interest as to offer it or venture to stand in the way of the march of civilization) none would or could

<sup>7</sup> August 15, 1850. Naval War Records Library, *Executive Letters*, 1850, No. 137 inclosure.

<sup>8</sup> Naval War Records Library, *Record of Confidential Letters*, No. 2, 168-70. These orders are printed in Lieutenant Herndon's report of the *Exploration of the valley of the Amazon* (Washington, 1853), pp. 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> Herndon to Graham, Lima, February 8, 1851. Naval War Records Library, *Officers Letters*, February, 1851, No. 96.

<sup>10</sup> Herndon to Graham, Lima, March 8, 1851. *Ibid.*, March, 1851, No. 58.



be offered here, and I am satisfied, that any one may come, may bring his slaves, and may cultivate as much land as he can without let or hindrance."<sup>11</sup> But the experience of several more months in the Valley altered Herndon's tone. He came to feel that despite the great fertility of the soil and the valuable productions of the country, many years and many settlers would be required to reap the profits of Amazonia; and he expressed the fear that by that time the rivers would no longer be navigable, for he was satisfied they were filling up fast.<sup>12</sup>

While Lieutenant Herndon and his companion Lardner Gibbon were slowly working their several ways down the Amazon and its tributaries to Pará, Maury at home in the Southern commercial conventions and in the periodical press was tirelessly agitating the question of the free navigation of the Amazon and preparing public opinion in the United States for the return of the expedition and the publication of its report.<sup>13</sup> The indefatigable lieutenant even won over the Brazilian chargé at Washington, the Chevalier Luis Pereira Sodré: upon the recall of that official to Brazil in the summer of 1852, as the State Department would have nothing to do with Maury's schemes, Secretary Graham sent the diplomat home in a war vessel, "pledged," as Maury explained privately, "to advocate the question at home both with the government & in the public prints. At his request I have drawn up for him the papers which he is to present & the arguments he is to

<sup>11</sup> Herndon to Graham, Nauta, September 24, 1851. *Ibid.*, January, 1852, No. 161.

<sup>12</sup> Herndon to Graham, Barra do Rio Negro, January 20, 1852. *Ibid.*, No. 148. Other reports from Herndon to the Secretary are in *Officers Letters*, April, 1851, No. 75; May, 1851, No. 77; June, 1851, No. 101; July, 1851, No. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Maury's publications include *The Amazon and the Atlantic slopes of South America* (Washington, 1853), originally published as a series of letters in the *National Intelligencer* between November 17 and December 3, 1852; "Shall the valleys of the Amazon and the Mississippi reciprocate trade?" *DeBow's Review*, XIV (February, 1853), 136-145; "Valley of the Amazon," *ibid.*, 449-460, 556-567; XV (May, June, July, 1853), 36-43. On behalf of the Memphis Convention of 1853 Maury prepared an elaborate and ingenious memorial to Congress in favor of opening the Amazon. This is printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 33 Congress, 1 session, No. 22. The report of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs on the memorial is printed in *House Reports*, 33 Congress, 2 session, No. 95.

use.’<sup>14</sup> Although the expansion of American commerce was the dominant theme in Maury’s propaganda and in the thought of the Southern economic interests, still the other idea was several times clearly expressed, that the Amazon Valley could absorb the excess slave population of the United States.

Inasmuch as the South, ran Maury’s argument, could not emancipate its slaves without destroying much of its capital, it must either sell the increase of slaves to other slave territory or await the inevitable struggle for race supremacy. The amount of land in the United States which could be cultivated by slave labor—and therefore the market for slaves—was limited; but if the slave increase could be disposed of to Brazil, the economic and the social problem alike would be solved. Brazil was thus the safety-valve of the American Union and insurance against race conflict. Maury did not contemplate that any planters should settle in the Amazon at once; but, he argued, there must be the assurance that they could go out whenever the pressure of the slave population at home became so great as to require it. It was to give the South this assurance, he held, that the Amazon must be opened to the world’s commerce and a steamboat line established between a southern port and the mouth of the great river.<sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant Maury’s reasoning apparently convinced some Southern slaveholders who foresaw the end of the expansion of slavery in the United States: in the spring of 1852, before Herndon had returned from Brazil, several planters approached the Brazilian minister at Washington with a proposal to settle with one thousand slaves in the Amazon Valley, but the Brazilian government offered no encouragement.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> To William M. Blackford, Charlottesville, Va., September 24, 1852. Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, *Maury Papers*, IV, 546; Secretary John P. Kennedy to Captain John C. Long, August 25, 1852. Naval War Records Library, *Record of Confidential Papers*, No. 2, 309.

<sup>15</sup> Maury, “Direct foreign trade of the South,” *DeBow’s Review*, XII, 144-148 (February, 1852); “Address on behalf of a resolution offered in the Southern and Western Commercial Convention, Baltimore, December 18, 1852,” *Western Journal and Civilian*, IX (February, 1853), 328. But Maury’s view of the matter was vigorously attacked by the strongly pro-slavery writer in the *Southern Quarterly Review*, VIII (October, 1853), 443-451.

<sup>16</sup> Maury (by Betty Maury) to William M. Blackford, Washington, May 5, 1852. Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, *Maury Papers*, IV, 533.

Doubtless Maury hoped that his scheme would also appeal to anti-slavery and moderate sentiment in the United States by its promises to put an end to the slave trade by supplying the markets of Brazil with slaves from the United States, to keep the slave population in the United States—and consequently the “slavocracy”—static, and finally to remove a most dangerous issue from American politics. Some of these motivating thoughts Maury expressed in a private letter in 1851 seeking to justify his plan.

. . . I am not seeking to make slave territory out of free, or to introduce slavery where there is none. Brazil is as much of a slave country as Virginia, & the Valley of the Amazon is Brazilian.

Now for the last two years I have been urging upon the Government to make a treaty with Brazil, and to remind her in that treaty that we are her best customers for coffee—that nearly all she produces is consumed here in the U. States, where it is admitted duty free—and of course the consumption is largely increased thereby. I have urged that we should say to Brazil in that treaty Stop the African slave trade, or we will put duty on that coffee, & thus lessen the demand for the fruits of slave labour & so take away from you the [illegible] interest in the tariff act. . . .

You know Brazil has recently stopped the African slave trade—whether or not in consequence of any thing above I know not. But she has not touched the domestic slave trade.

Now . . . he is no close observer of the times, who does not see that the Valley of the Amazon is about to become a great center of attraction for immigrants—It is a slave country—and all the travelers who go there, even those from the free states whose books I have read, say and maintain that the black-man & the black man alone is capable of subduing the forests there. To me it is clear that the people of Amazonia will have slaves—they are very near to the coast of Africa, & if they cannot get them there in one way, they really will in another. So that in my judgement, wish how we may, hope how we will—the alternative is Shall Amazonia be supplied with this class from the U. States or from Africa?

In the former case it will be a transfer of the place of servitude, but the making of no new slaves.

In the latter, it will be making slaves of freemen and adding greatly to the number of slaves in the world.

In the former it would be relieving our own country of the slaves,



it would be hastening the time of our deliverance, & it would be putting off indefinitely the horrors of that war of races, which without an escape is surely to come upon us. Therefore I see in the slave territory of the Amazon, a safety valve, yes . . . "the safety valve" of the Southern States of this Confederacy.

I cannot be blind to what I see going on here. It is becoming to be a matter of *faith*—I use a strong word—yes a matter of faith among leading Southern men, that the time is coming nay that it is rapidly approaching when in order to prevent this war of races and its horrors, they will in self-defence, be compelled to conquer parts of Mexico, and central America, & make slave territory of that—and that is now free.<sup>17</sup>

Late in 1853 Lieutenant Herndon's report, prepared with Maury's aid, was printed. In it Herndon echoed his brother-in-law's views of the importance of the Amazon to the American Union and especially to the slaveholding South. What he had seen convinced him that the region could be developed only by immigrants, and he said he had no doubt that the Brazilian government would offer no obstacles to the settlement of the province of Amazonas by Americans with their Negro slaves.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, he concluded, the climate of Brazil was so enervating that only by slave labor could the country be developed at all. However, he went on,

the common sentiment of the civilized world is against the renewal of the African slave trade; therefore must Brazil turn elsewhere for the compulsory labor necessary to cultivate her lands. . . . I am under the impression that, were Brazil to throw off a causeless jealousy, and a puerile fear of our people, and invite settlers to the Valley of the Amazon, there might be found, among our Southern planters, men, who, looking with apprehension (if not for themselves, at least for

<sup>17</sup> To Mrs. William M. Blackford, December 24, 1851. Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, *Maury Papers*, IV, 521. This letter is printed in part in Mrs. Corbin's life of her father, pp. 131-132.

Consistent with his interest in Amazonia, Maury opposed the agitation for Tehuantepec as "a deep laid scheme" for additional slave territory. Maury to Blackford, September 24, 1852. *Maury Papers*, IV, 546.

<sup>18</sup> William Lewis Herndon, *Exploration of the valley of the Amazon, made under the direction of the Navy Department, by Wm. Lewis Herndon and Lardner Gibbon, Lieutenants, United States Navy. Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Congress, 2 session, No. 36 (2 pts., Washington, 1853-1854), pt. 1, 190, 193, 268. Part 1 of the report was by Herndon, part 2 by Gibbon.

their children) to the state of affairs as regards slavery at home, would under sufficient guarantees, remove their slaves to that country, cultivate its lands, draw out its resources, and prodigiously augment the power and wealth of Brazil.<sup>19</sup>

Widely reviewed in the periodical press, Herndon's report inspired some articles on the Amazon by other writers. Most of the reviewers were interested in the commercial possibilities of the region as revealed by the report, but several did not fail to note the implications of the expedition for the extension of slavery. *The New-Englander* was particularly caustic:

The Union [it observed] requires so many safety-valves that we begin to fear the demand will become greater than the supply; especially as the said valves seem to be constructed of the same material—territory for the support and spread of slavery. Louisiana, Florida, Texas, have already been employed for this purpose; Cuba must next be seized to let off thereby some of our superfluous steam; and if South America should all be used up, we know not what would be left. We now understand what Lieutenant Maury means when he complains of Brazil, "shutting up from man's—from Christian, civilized, enlightened man's—use the fairest portion of God's earth"; its use as a safety-valve to this Union—its use as a field for the extension of Southern slavery.<sup>20</sup>

Several English reviews were similarly apprehensive of the extension of the trade and slave system of the United States into the Amazon Valley. In Herndon's instructions, thought the reviewer for the London *Spectator*, "something very like Texan annexation peeps out; and the idea looms still more distinctly in the result of his observations and experiences. Slavery, improved and *enlarged*, forms a part of the gallant traveller's notions for civilizing South America."<sup>21</sup> The *London Quarterly Review* believed the plan to colonize Southern planters and their slaves in the Amazon Valley sim-

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>20</sup> "Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon," *New-Englander*, XII (August, 1854), 379.

<sup>21</sup> "Lieutenant Herndon's exploration of the valley of the Amazon," *The Spectator*, XXVII (April 15, 1854), 413, reprinted in the United States in *Littell's Living Age*, XLI (May 27, 1854), 429-431.

ply "a dainty device, whereby the 'common sentiment of the civilized world' [against opening the African slave trade] may be defied."<sup>22</sup>

As it fell out, the whole Amazon question dropped almost completely from public discussion after 1855. The southern sentiment in favor of developing the Amazon by American commercial enterprise and by American slave labor had been formed largely by the efforts of Lieutenant Maury alone and was not supported by the work of others. Furthermore, the enthusiasm of the expansionists had been tempered by Herndon's report of actual conditions in the Valley—his facts contradicted his conclusions—while their arrogance had been softened by the realization that their memorials, resolves, and threats had all been unavailing either to move the United States government to an uncompromising stand or to induce Brazil to open the river to the traders and planters of the northern continent.<sup>23</sup> Amazonia was less attractive in 1855 than it had seemed in 1852 before Herndon returned; the ordinary processes of diplomacy promised more than sectional commercial conventions to secure the opening of the river; and after 1854 the South looked for greater rewards, both economic and political, from attaching the American West to itself and to that end now chose to devote its capital and energy to the project of a Pacific railroad and to exploiting what it was hoped would prove the advantages of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon," *London Quarterly Review*, III (January, 1855), 511.

For other American reviews of Herndon's report which adopted the expansionist tone, see *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, XXXI (July, 1854), 39-56; *Western Journal and Civilian*, XII (May, 1854), 96-111; *United States Review*, XXXIII (June, 1855), 460-471; *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, LVI (May, 1854), 353-364; *Pulnam's Monthly Magazine*, III (March, 1854), 272-279; *DeBow's Review*, XVI (March, 1854), 231-251; *National Magazine*, XIII (October, 1858), 297-302.

<sup>23</sup> The altered policy of the United States government is reflected in the references to the Amazon question in President Pierce's annual messages of 1853 and 1854. J. D. Richardson, comp., *A compilation of the messages and papers of the presidents, 1789-1897* (10 v., Washington, 1896-1900), VI, 211, 280.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, "Our Gulf states and the Amazon," *DeBow's Review*, XVIII (January, March, 1855), 91-93, 364-366, and the review of Gibbon's report on pages 312-313 (March, 1855) of the same magazine, where the report is



Although no Southern planter settled in the Valley of the Amazon with his slaves, still the influence of Maury's arguments persisted into the next decade. It is probable that Maury's insistence that slaves could cultivate the Valley was partly responsible for the plan considered for a short time in 1862 to colonize the liberated Negro slaves of the United States there.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the publicity which Maury and the southern expansionists gave Brazil was doubtless one of the influences which led several thousand self-exiled Confederates to emigrate to that country at the close of the American Civil War.<sup>26</sup>

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

Dickinson College.

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characterized as "a work which offers an unpretending sketch of strange countries, without attempting to distract attention unnecessarily to them, in preference to the improvement of our own."

<sup>25</sup> N. Andrew N. Cleven, "Some plans for colonizing liberated Negro slaves in Hispanic America," *Journal of Negro History*, XI (January, 1926), 35-49; Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works* (Nicolay and Hay, eds., new edn., 12 v., New York, 1894-1905), VII, 272.

<sup>26</sup> Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-258.

## DOCUMENTS

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FIRST MILITARY BALLOON CORPS ORGANIZED IN SOUTH AMER- ICA: THE AERONAUTIC CORPS OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY, 1867-1868

During the Civil War in the United States, the science of aeronautics was applied to warfare for the first time in the Western Hemisphere. Under the direction of a prominent aeronaut, Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, a balloon corps was organized in the Federal Army in the fall of 1861, and continued in service until after the close of the Chancellorsville Campaign in 1863. At this time the corps was disbanded, possibly because of lack of appreciation of the value of the service on the part of the ranking Union officers.<sup>1</sup> The Confederate Army also used balloons on several occasions, but this type of auxiliary equipment never became an organized branch of the Confederate service.<sup>2</sup>

Lowe had under his direction two able assistants, James and Ezra S. Allen, of Providence, Rhode Island. The former had attempted to introduce balloons into the Union Army as early as April, 1861, but had failed because of inferior equipment. With his brother, Ezra, he later joined Lowe's corps during the Peninsular Campaign of 1862, and served with Lowe until the latter's resignation in May, 1863, when he assumed charge of the balloon train and remained until its disbandment a month later.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Lowe's report to Secretary Stanton, June 4, 1863, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1881, et seq.), Ser. III, Vol. III, pp. 252-319; also T. S. C. Lowe, *My Balloons in Peace and War*, an unpublished MS. memoir.

<sup>2</sup> General E. Porter Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York, 1907), pp. 172-173; General G. Moxley Sorrel, *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer* (New York, 1905), pp. 94-95; General James Longstreet, "Our March Against Pope," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1887), II, 135; MSS. in the Confederate Records Section, War Department Division, National Archives; *Lowe Papers*.

<sup>3</sup> *James Allen's Scrapbook*, Vol. I; James Allen to T. S. C. Lowe, April 1, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. III, p. 301; Lieutenant Henry L. Abbot to Captain A. W. Whipple, July 9, 1861, MS. W853, enc., Letters Received, Corps of Topographical Engineers, War Department Division, National Archives; *Providence Journal*, June 19, 1892.

At the close of the war, Lowe directed his attention to other scientific pursuits, and ceased active operations in aeronautics. In 1867, while he was engaged in the construction of apparatus for the manufacture of ice, he was offered a commission in the Imperial Army of Brazil, to organize a balloon corps for service in the Paraguayan War. Being engrossed in his experiments with his ice machine, Lowe declined the offer, and recommended that the Allen brothers, his former assistants, be employed for the purpose. He did, however, agree to furnish the balloons and auxiliary equipment. The details of the offer and his counter-proposals are clearly expressed in Lowe's unpublished memoirs :

I was surprised to receive a letter from the Government of Brazil, asking if I would form an Aeronautic Corps for the Brazilian Army—that country then being at war with Paraguay—if I would accept a commission in the army to command the corps, and leaving to me the building of the balloons and the preparing of the complete outfit for the expedition to Brazil. A handsome offer was made for these services.

Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, had followed with great interest the history of my work during the Civil War, and as "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," he showed the keenest appreciation of what I had done.

I replied that I was no longer engaged in Aeronautics, but that I would be pleased to prepare a complete outfit and recommend capable army aeronauts trained by myself, to take charge, and asked if this would be acceptable to the Emperor.

Receiving an affirmative reply, I wrote to the Allen brothers, putting the whole proposition before them. I knew them to be expert and capable, and advised them to take the offer. To do them justice, I do not think that the pecuniary inducement played nearly so great a part in their decision to accept, as the novelty of the expedition. They were young and thrilled to the spirit of adventure. They did splendid work.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, the Allens accepted the offer, the elder brother James assuming the rank of Captain of Engineers, and Ezra the rank of assistant aeronaut. With the equipment prepared by Lowe, they proceeded to Brazil and organized the first balloon corps ever to serve with a South American army. Despite difficulties occasioned by scarcity of materials for generating gas in the field, this first Brazilian "air corps" seems to have done good service, and received the approbation of the Brazilian Government. It was stated in several contemporary newspapers that Emperor Dom Pedro was so pleased with James Allen's work that he presented the aeronaut with a bonus of \$10,000 in gold at the close of his operations with the army.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lowe, *My Balloons in Peace and War*, unpublished MS. memoir, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> *Providence Journal*, March 19, October 24, 1867; *Providence Morning*



The following documents relating to this episode in South American history were found in the collection of personal papers of T. S. C. Lowe, now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Henry M. Brown-back. This collection is cited in notes as the *Lowe Papers*. Also two items in the accompanying documents appear in one volume of two

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*Herald*, April 23, 1868; Lancaster [N. H.] *Democrat*, July 17, 1889; also several unidentified clippings in *James Allen's Scrapbook*, Vol. I.

Although the available documents do not describe the methods of field operation employed by the balloon detachment of the Brazilian army, it is reasonable to assume that the technique followed by the Allen brothers in Brazil was the same as that practiced in the Union army during the American Civil War. Both aeronauts had received their military training and experience under Lowe with the Army of the Potomac, and the equipment they used in the service of Brazil was practically identical in type with that they had operated during the recent hostilities in the United States.

The equipment of a balloon train generally consisted of one or two observation balloons, complete with envelopes, nettings, and cars, carried in an ordinary army wagon; a mobile field generator for the manufacture of hydrogen, mounted on a wagon frame; a supply of iron filings and sulphuric acid—materials used in the manufacture of gas, also carried in several supply wagons; and a number of auxiliary tools and other incidental equipment used in field operation and maintenance. The personnel of the detachment usually included the aeronaut in charge, an assistant aeronaut, and a ground crew of enlisted men under the command of a captain or lieutenant. The number of men comprising the ground or handling crew varied from thirty to fifty. Since all the equipment including the generator was mobile, the balloon "corps" could accompany a force into any reasonable position and conduct aerial observation at almost any point desired by the commanding officer of the force with which it happened to be operating.

During ascensions, the balloons were controlled by strong manilla cables, called ascension ropes, which permitted the observers to ascend to varying altitudes up to three thousand feet. To insure safety and steadiness, three or four cables were generally used with each balloon during an ascension. Each cable was controlled by a separate group of men from the ground detachment, supervised by the captain or lieutenant in charge, who followed instructions from the aeronaut. The cables were paid out through pulleys or snatch-blocks attached to trees or other fixed objects, and the balloon would be permitted to ascend to the desired altitude. The cable would then be made fast and the aeronauts and observing officers who accompanied them would take the observations. On signal from the aeronaut, the ground crew would then draw in the cables and the balloon and observers would descend to the ground station. Communication between the balloon cars and the earth was effected by dropped messages, visual signals, or by telegraph. There are no documents available to show whether the telegraph was used with the Brazilian service. It was used extensively with the Union balloon corps in the American Civil War, and the two Allens were thoroughly familiar with it.

The generation of hydrogen in the field was accomplished by the sulphuric acid and iron process. Lowe's generator, used by the Allens in Brazil, had been developed in 1861 for the use of the Federal army, and made possible the man-

large scrapbooks, kept by James Allen and members of his family. This book is cited in notes as *James Allen's Scrapbook*. Both volumes are now in the Aeronautics Division, Library of Congress.

F. STANSBURY HAYDON.

Johns Hopkins University.

New York

March 4, 1867.

E. S. Allen, Esq.

Dear Sir:

Now that I have closed up my Balloon arrangement and embarked in other business which makes it impossible for me ever to return to ballooning, one of the finest opportunities presents itself that I ever had, both for making money, position, and reputation. Now, inasmuch as I cannot accept any position in that line, I write to offer you what I consider a great chance.

The Brazilian Government has adopted my system of ballooning into their army and offers me a commission in their regular Army in the engineer's department and \$180 per month in gold and expenses paid, with chance of promotion, and if successful a remuneration from the government—the amount to be decided by their Congress—or will do the same by any other person whom I may recommend. Besides this there will probably be other chances of making money and if a person takes their family, a fine grant of land is given them. Upon the whole I consider it an excellent opportunity and should you desire to extend photography by having an assistant, a large business can be done in that line [on] which you should no doubt realize a fortune. I am furnishing some apparatus but much more than they have ordered will be wanted, and hereafter you will have an opportunity of making money on that—for my business will prevent me from furnishing any after this.

The steamer sails for Rio [de] Janeiro, the capital of Brazil on

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ufacture of sufficient gas to fill a 30,000 cubic-foot balloon in about three hours. Lack of proper materials in the field during the operations in the Paraguayan war seems to have prevented the use of the generator to its best advantage. The Allens were compelled to use large lumps of scrap-iron rather than the fine filings or borings for which Lowe's generator was designed, and the result was extended delay in inflating the balloon envelopes.

According to the few details contained in several clippings in James Allen's scrapbook, the two brothers remained in service with the Brazilian army until the close of major military operations against the Paraguayan forces. With the major campaigns at an end, there appeared to be no further need of their services in the field. The aeronauts then resigned from the Brazilian service, were generously rewarded by the Imperial government, and returned to Rhode Island, where they resumed their professions as civilian balloonists.

the 22nd of this month on which the aeronaut with all his apparatus may embark a few days in advance. Being in a hurry I have written to several of my former assistants, but will wait a reasonable time to hear from you before I arrange with any other parties. The contract will be made here and signed by the Brazilian Minister, who is ordered to do so by his Government.

If you conclude to accept this proposition it will be necessary for you to come on here at once and telegraph me on receipt of this letter. I have another meeting with the Brazilian officers in my rooms at the 5th Avenue Hotel on Friday next [March 8, 1867]—to decide further about the matter. In writing or telegraphing give address so that an answer may find you.

Yours truly,  
T. S. C. Lowe  
5th Avenue Hotel<sup>1</sup>  
New York

New York,  
March 9th, 1867.

Le Chevalier Cavacomti d'Albuquerque  
Charge d'Affaire[s] do Brasil

Having investigated and considered the matter thoroughly respecting the furnishing of the Balloons and Aeronauts for your Government, I am prepared to make the following statement:

While I regret that I am unable, through other engagements, to avail myself of the opportunity of introducing, personally, my system of Aeronautics into the Brazilian Army, still I feel that those whom I recommend below, having had several years experience under my direction in our Army, will be competent to render good service to your Government.

It being customary and absolutely necessary for each aeronaut to have one assistant for the purpose of keeping the machinery, etc., etc., in order, I would recommend Mr. James Allen, as Chief Aeronaut, and his brother, Mr. E. S. Allen, as assistant.

These gentlemen are each good aeronauts, and in case anything should happen to one, the other would be ready. These gentlemen have always been together and will not separate. The former will accept the pay of Captain of Engineers, and the latter will require One hundred Dollars (\$100) per month and expenses, so long as his services may be required. As to machinery, the matter stands thus—I have a new balloon just completed, with all the late improvements necessary for operation, capable of carrying ten persons, and which

<sup>1</sup> MS., *Lowe Papers*.



can be delivered on Monday next, Price \$5,500. A generating apparatus can be procured complete for generating gas to inflate the same for \$2,500, and which can be packed and delivered on the 18th or 20th of this month.

In order to render everything as successful as possible beyond a doubt, and to enable the Aeronaut to operate at all times in favorable weather, I consider it absolutely necessary to have a second Balloon—inasmuch as one cannot be continually used, and at just the time an observation is most wanted, the Balloon might not be ready, unless the aeronaut can command a second one.

I kept four of different sizes continually with me in the Army of the Potomac—and considered it economy. Now inasmuch as you are authorized to purchase only one Balloon, and to prevent any delay for the want of a second one, I will send an extra balloon complete in all its parts, upon the conditions hereinafter mentioned.

I should have added before, that both of the above named gentlemen are engaged in business, and if they accept the positions upon the terms I have mentioned, will be compelled to sacrifice the same, and the time given them to make the change is so short, that they will be unable to provide properly for their families without an advancement of about \$1,000; therefore to that end I would say, that if you will make the required advance, say \$500 to each of the Aeronauts, I will send per same Steamer to your Government the second Balloon to be held as collateral security for the payment of the money so advanced, and in the meantime should the Government desire to have the second Balloon, by the payment of \$2,000 additional, it can then become the full property of the Government.

The advance however will not be expected until the Balloon and Aeronaut have embarked. Should you desire to send everything by the next Steamer, your early acceptance of the above will be necessary; should you for any reason decline, an early reply will greatly oblige.

Yours Respectfully

T. S. C. Lowe,

Late Chief Aeronaut U. S. A.

[Appended to this letter appears the following indorsement of  
General Alfred Pleasonton, U. S. A.]

New York, March 9, 1867.

Professor Lowe was the Chief Aeronaut of the Army of the Potomac and by his skill, energy, and high intelligence gained an

enviable distinction and rendered great and important services to the Army by means of his observation of the enemy's positions and movements from his Balloon. In all matters connected with Balloon reconnaissances his information is of the most important character and is entitled to credence.

A. Pleasonton  
Brevet Maj. General  
U. S. Army.<sup>1</sup>

Querido amigo,

Tuyutí, Julio 10 de 1867.

Como está á la órden del dia los viajes areostáticos, Vd. no estrañe que yo me ocupe de los que se han hecho últimamente en este campamento.

Mientras no llegue el momento decisivo, yo creo que el entretener á sus lectores con estos asuntos siempre será mas provechoso, que mariscalear sin ton ni son.

Mr. James Allen es el intrépido aereonauta de quien voy á ocuparme, y creo que un ligero apunte biográfico respecto á este caballero vendrá muy bien aqui.

Nació en la América del Norte, Estado de Rhode Island, asi como sus hermanos que le acompañan y coadyuban en sus trabajos.

En quince años que ejerce su profesion, pues tal puede decirse, ha hecho ciento y veinte viajes aereos.

Cuando estalló la guerra civil en su pais, se presentó como voluntario, y sirvió en el Potomac, bajo las órdenes del General federal Burnside, y los documentos que presenta prueban que ha prestado relevantes servicios.

Entre las muchas ascensiones que entonces hizo, Mr. James Allen, cuenta dos justamente célebres.

Una en que tuvo que permanecer cerca cuarenta horas en el espacio, y otra en que, con un telégrafo portátil y puesto en comunicacion con el General en Gefe, estuvo durante un combate previniéndole de todos los movimientos del enemigo.

La última ascension que hizo en su pais, fué el dia 4 de Julio de 1866, llevando cuatro aficionados y caminó veinte y ocho millas en diez y ocho minutos.

Contratado en New-York por el Ministro Brasileiro, Mr. James Allen, se embarcó alli para Rio Janeiro en el mes de Marzo, despues de haber comprados dos globos, y llegó á Rio Janeiro en el mismo mes.

Apenas se domoró en Rio Janeiro cuatro dias, siguiendo para este campamento, nó sin antes haber pedido al Ministro de la Guerra, que

<sup>1</sup> MS., *Lowe Papers*.

le mandase dar el limage de fierro y acido sulfúrico precisos para la preparacion del gas hidrógeno de que se sirve para hacer elevar el globo.

El Ministro le prometió que si, pero hasta hoy no ha llegado aqui esa remesa, y el resultado es que apesar de la buena voluntad de Mr. Allen y decidida cooperacion del Marques de Caxias, solo con mucha dificultad se ha podido obtener el gas que hasta ahora ha servido para las ascenciones de que voy á ocuparme.

La razon es sencilla. En lugar del limage de fierro, Mr. Allen ha tenido que echar mano de diez mil libras de pedazos de fierro viejo, que el otro aereonauta que aqui estuvo antes, Mr. Doyen, habia dejado.

Ahora ¿quien ignora la gran diferencia que hay en obtener gas del limage de fierro de primera calidad como es el que se estrae al horadar los cañones—combinado con el agua y el acido sulfuero, al obtener ese mismo hidrógeno del fierro oxidado?

Por el primer método se pueden obtener en seis horas diez y seis mil piés cúbicos de hidrógeno, mientras que por el segundo quizá sean necesarios cuarenta y dos horas.

Apenas Mr. Allen hizo presente al Marques de Caxias esa dificultad, él ordenò que fuese un Vapor á Montevideo para traer el limage; no habiendo empero alli ase artículo, el funcionario barsilero á quien fué hecho el pedido resolvió mandar Zinc.

Nuevos inconvenientes y nuevos trabajos que solo han podido vencer la suma practica y evangélica constancia del Sr. Allen.

El zinc puro puede suplir la falta del limage de fierro, pero el zinc en hojas, como el que mandaron, tiene una parte de plomo y bastante arsénico.

El plomo con falcidad se separa, pero el vapor del arsénico se mezela con el hidrógeno, y para separarlo es preciso un otro procedimiento, pues no es conveniente emplearlo asi.

Volviendo á lo que decia, Mr. Allen llegó aqui con dos globos, uno de doce metros y diez y nueve centímetros de diametro, y el otro de 8 1/2 métrós.

El primero puede contener treinta y siete mil pies cúbicos de gas, y llevar de seis á ocho personas; y el segundo 17000 mil pies cúbicos y conducir dos personas.

Si en lugar de estos globos estar sujetos con cuerdas al suelo, fueren sueltas, pueden llevar mas personas.

Los dos globos son de género de algodón americano y barnizados este riormente.



Hay dos globos mas del sistema frances que el Ministro Brasileiro dió á Mr. Allen, pero él no los quiere experimentar, diciendo que no le inspiran confianza.

Estos últimos son de un género de seda muy encopado, color mordoré.

Las ascensiones que hasta ahora se han hecho han sido en el menor de los globos, pero se cree que pronto subirá el grande.

Mr. Allen ha cautivado á todas las personas que le han visto trabajar, por ver la pericia y maestria con que lo hace, venciendo todos los obstáculos.

Anti ayer fui yo á visitar su taller y hé aqui lo que he podido observar del método empleado por él, para inflar su globo.

Hay dos grandes tinas de madera de forma cónica, y que pueden contener cada una mil y doscientos galones, colocadas una al lado de la otra y que se comunican.

En ellas se echan, primero las cantidades de agua y fierro calculadas de antemano, y despues, poco á poco se vá echándo el accido sulfurico.

Esto produce el gas hidrogeneo, mezclado con algun carbonico, que, pasando por un tubo de goma, entra á una tina de agua en donde se enfria; pasando en seguida por otro tubo igual á una otra tina que contiene agua y cal, de donde sale purificado, es decir, sin el carbónico, y va por un tubo de género de algodón barnizado hasta el globo.

Este gas es catorce veces mas liviano que el aire.

El gas así purificado asegura al globo una mas larga duracion,

Hablemos ahora de los viages:

El primero se efectuò, como lo dije en una de mis anteriores, el dia 24 de Junio, y como el dia estuviese malo poco se pudo observar.

El aereonauta, acompañado del mayor Chodasiewicz, del cuerpo de ingenieros del Ejército Argentino, se elevò á mas de doscientos setenta pies.

La facilidad con que subió el globo, y el modo por que bajó en el mismo punto de partida, probaron inmediatamente el talento práctico de Mr. J. Allen.

El segundo viage se efectuó el dia 8 de Julio, á las 2 de la tarde.

Fueron en el globo únicamente, el ingeniero Chodasiewicz, y el teniente paraguayo Céspedes, gefe de los vaqueanos, al servicio de la R. Argentina.

Aunque el globo solo estuvo dos horas en el aire poco mas ó menos, á causa del mal tiempo que sobrevino, se aprovechó sin embargo mucho.

El globo salió del Potrero Piris, y bajó frente al batallon del Resario.

A la noche me hice yo presentar al mayor Chodasiewicz y traté de indagar de él lo que habia visto, pero el hombre fué impenetrable.

Tuve que dirigirme á otra persona, igualmente bien informada, y hé aqui lo que pude averiguar.

Todas las fortificaciones que tienen los paraguayos dentro del monte, á la izquierda tanto la primera como la segunda trinchera se vieron perfectamente y se pudieron dibujar las posiciones que ocupan sus fuerzas y su artilleria, asi como contar los cañones y calcular esas fuerzas.

Los bañados, lagunas y esteros, hasta Curupayty se vieron perfectamente, asi como el rio Paraguay hasta el riacho de oro y el mayor Chodasiewicz los dibujo muy tranquilo en el napa que llevó en la barquilla, ayudándole el Teniente Céspedes con sus conocimientos topográficos, como morador de estos pagos.

A causa del temporal que se formó al norte, no pudo distinguirse Humaytá, pero del lado derecho se avistó todo hasta el pueblito de Lengua.

Se notó que los pasos de Zanja Honda, Tio Domingo y otros, no ofrecen las dificultades que se creia, de modo que no será difícil que algunos de estos esté llamado á ser un punto táctico en la campaña que vá á emprenderse.

Los paraguayos hicieron algunos tiros para el globo, pero fué tiempo perdido.

El Mayor Chodasiewicz los miró riéndose en sus barbas cuando le apuntaban los cañones.

Esos pretenciosos tiros de los paraguayos simulaban la rabia impotente de la barbárie contra el progreso de nuestros tiempos.

Lopez se ha de haber mordido de coraje al ver que el arte á que con tanta distincion se dedica Mr. J. Allen, ha ido á devasar los secretos de su defensa, poniendo asi al ejército aliado en conocimiento del camino que mas pronto le conducirá al centro de su guarida, y en que debe el tirano recibir una severa leccion, que será la precursora de mas ejemplar castigo.

Por último mi querido Redactor, tengo á comunicarle que Mr. Libertad, agente del consulado francés vino con una nota de su ministro para Lopez, y que la entregò al Sr. General Gelly, para que el la [original damaged, word obliterated] seguir á su destino, yendose á esperar la contestacion á Corrientes.

Puede ser que yo me equivoque, pero creo que Mr. Libertad tendrá

que esperar muchos dias, pues Lopez no está por ahora como para recibir notas diplomáticas, demasiado tiene en que pènsar para arreglar el mas còmodo gorro de viaje y aperertarselo hasta las orejas.

Esto es opinion particular.

Hoy sube otra vez el globo, algo le diré otra vez.

S. S. S. y amigo

Manuel A. de Mattos.<sup>1</sup>

Imperial Army of Brazil

July 14, 1867.

Balloon Camp at Pass a la Putoc.

Prof. T. S. C. Lowe,

Dear Sir,

No doubt you are feeling desirous to hear what the Allens and the balloons are doing in South America, and we are at this time very happy to respond. We have accomplished the thing we came to do notwithstanding we have had many serious obstacles to contend with.

In the first place the iron and acid<sup>1</sup> that we ordered at Rio has not up to this time arrived. We both thought we had taken every precaution to have everything on board of the ship we came down in, and upon the deck of that ship was [sic] assured that everything was on board, the acid and iron being particularly mentioned; but upon arriving found that the most important item had not been shipped upon that ship. We learned, however, that it had been put on board of another ship that sailed the same day, but be that as it may, we have not yet seen it.

We however set to work, to do something, and learned that a Frenchman who had been here had acid and iron at Corr[i]entes. A ship was immediately dispatched for it and we thought we were all right, but upon opening the barrels found it to be wrought iron of enormous sizes from 10-penny nails up to 5, 10, and 15 pound junk,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Corrientes *La Esperanza*, July 14, 1867. A clipping from this paper, containing the above letter is included in *James Allen's Scrapbook*, I, 61.

The letter is addressed to the Editor of the *Esperanza*. Mattos was probably a war correspondent of this paper.

The accompanying transcript of the letter is reproduced exactly as it appeared in the paper cited; no corrections of spelling, punctuation, etc., have been made.

<sup>1</sup> Iron filings and sulphuric acid: materials used for the manufacture of hydrogen gas for inflating the balloons in the field.

<sup>2</sup> For satisfactory results in the field generators, the iron should be in very small pieces. Filings and gun turnings were generally used. The size of the pieces referred to was naturally unsatisfactory for the purpose intended.



but nothing daunted, we went to work to do what we could. We took the nails and smallest iron and got the small balloon inflated.

In the meantime the General was busy trying to get us everything wanted and did procure at Montevideo some very nice zinc—so far so good. We, in the time of waiting were busy making everything secure; varnished both balloons, overhauled the nets, etc. James went to work and wove a nice manilla rope through the large basket in place of the iron rods. We gave the large balloon two coats of varnish as we also did the small one.

We have not as yet been able to get the large balloon up, for the reason stated—want of material, but have been more than successful with the small one. We have made some ten or a dozen of the finest ascensions that we ever made, and what we cannot say of the U. S. Army, it is appreciated by all concerned.<sup>3</sup> They think it strange that an army can do without balloons, for by their use we have been able to give them some very valuable information. We have kept the balloon up in front of the enemy all the time possible, and the General in Command, the Marques de Caxies [Caxias], is more than pleased. James is now at work preparing the basket and everything to take him—Gen. Marques de Caxies—up.

Being in a great hurry at this time I will close by saying that we have been successful beyond our expectations. James will write by the next steamer.

With great respect, I remain,

Yours truly,

E. S. Allen.<sup>4</sup>

Balloon Department Serving  
in the Imperial Army of  
Brazil against the Paraguayan  
Government.

[Date missing]

I, the undersigned, have much pleasure in certifying that Mr. James Allen, Aeronaut in Chief, has experienced hard work and great difficulties in generating the gas, for the reason that the material furnished him for this purpose was a very inferior quality; but he has been successful to everyone's admiration and I consider that he

<sup>3</sup> Allen refers to the lack of appreciation of the services of the Union Balloon Corps displayed by the high military authorities of the Federal Government in the later years of the American Civil War.

<sup>4</sup> MS., *Lowe Papers*. The letter is also included in *My Balloons in Peace and War*, an unpublished MS. memoir written by T. S. C. Lowe.

ought not only to have the name of Aeronaut in Chief of the Brazilian Army, but of the whole world.

For his skill and quick perceptions, I consider that he has not his equal.

Robert A. Chodasiewicz.<sup>1</sup>

[Journal of T. N. McMillan, private secretary to  
T. S. C. Lowe, 1867-68]<sup>1a</sup>

*New York, March 14, 1867*

Mr. James Allen arrived in town this morning and went out to Flushing in the evening.<sup>2</sup>

*March 15*

Professor Lowe to meet Cavalcanti<sup>3</sup> on Tuesday next [March 19] at 5½ p.m. . . .

*March 18*

Sent four coolers and five copper joints from the amphitheatre, also one flange and twenty-two bolts.<sup>4</sup> In the evening copied letter for Mr. Cavalcanti.

*March 19*

The Brazilian Minister executed his documents with James Allen during the afternoon. . . . The mark on the balloon materials to be sent is "A.S.Ex.O. Senr. Ministro da Guerra Rio de Janeiro."

*March 20*

Mr. E. [S.] Allen arrived in the morning and went down to the Chevalier's<sup>5</sup> at 12 m. to sign papers. . . . In the afternoon the Chevalier Cavalcanti d'Albuquerque according to appointment met the Messrs. Allen to close and execute all the documents. I made out the receipt. The Messrs. Allen received \$500 in currency apiece and a passage ticket together with \$100 in gold to Mr. J. and \$50 in gold to Mr. E. S. Allen. They were very much pleased and "went on their way rejoicing."

<sup>1</sup> MS. [translation] in *James Allen's Scrapbook*, Vol. I. Chodasiewicz was a Major of Engineers in the Argentine Army.

<sup>1a</sup> MS., *Lowe Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> At this time Lowe had taken a house for his family in Flushing.

<sup>3</sup> Chevalier Cavalcanti d'Albuquerque, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires in New York.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently articles of equipment for the balloons and field generators. At the time, Lowe was exhibiting his newly invented ice machine in an amphitheatre in New York City, which served for exhibition purposes as well as a workshop and laboratory.

<sup>5</sup> The Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires.

*March 21*

I made out two powers of attorney, one for Guintino de Souza Bocayura<sup>6</sup> and the other for James Allen. Mr. Allen went down to the S. S. office to get B/L signed. The following is a copy of the articles sent.

2 tanks, one containing 4 boxes, 19 screws, 1 copper funnel, 2 lead tubes, 1 copper elbow, 2 do. with rubber connections, 1 brass ring, 8-in diam., and three bolts, 1 pump, 2 heavers, and one pump connection. 1 balloon and basket and all appurtenances.

*March 22*

Went with Professor Lowe to Cavalcanti's . . . and from there to the Brazilian Consulate, closed the papers, and went to the steamer and gave them to Mr. Allen. The Professor is to meet Mr. Cavalcanti on Monday [March 25]. The steamer sails tomorrow.

*September 24*

Received a letter from James Allen. Very favorable.

<sup>6</sup> Quintino de Souza Bocayuva [erroneously spelled by McMillan], one of the prominent leaders in the movement for the establishment of the Republic of Brazil in 1889, and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government of Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca, first president of the Republic.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Wider Horizons of American History.* By HERBERT E. BOLTON.  
(New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. Pp. xv, 191.  
\$1.50.)

This volume consists of four addresses delivered by Mr. Bolton on separate occasions: "The Epic of Greater America" (address as President of the American Historical Association); "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of Borderlands" (address at the Boulder Conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West); "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies" (Faculty Research Lecture, University of California); "The Black Robes of New Spain" (paper read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association). Although most specialists in historical studies are doubtless already familiar with these papers, they will be gratified to have them bound together under a single cover; for the addresses are first-hand contributions to a unified theme and deal with topics too long neglected by scholars who have concentrated their attention on what is now called "Anglo-Saxony." Furthermore, besides providing correctives for narrow views, they have a peculiar relevance now that our hemispherical consciousness is widening and deepening. Old times become timely in more than one sense of the word.

In addition to being crowded with implications for those who care to think about history, Mr. Bolton's pages are crowded with facts pertinent to the study of the history of the United States. He is a specialist who possesses vast knowledge in his field and yet, like the great teacher, he has a constant care for the needs of those whose knowledge is small, and with rare skill he gives those "essentials" necessary to the main structure of his story. Probably nowhere can the student of our own history in the narrower sense find in so brief a compass the events, personalities, dates, and geographical data which must be taken into account when the broader understanding is to be sought. For the southwestern regions of the United States, Mr. Bolton's précis is simply indispensable for all who are, like myself, sciolists in Spanish history.

In method and style, Mr. Bolton is sympathetic but not sentimental. With fine enthusiasm for his subject, he may be overemphatic in laying

stress upon the importance of this or that, but, inasmuch as the balance has long been too heavily weighted on the other side, this is to be deemed good art, not a fault. With genial insight he describes the work of Catholic missionaries, their struggles against the greed of their political overlords, and their selfless dedication to the salvation of souls. But he is not blind to the other side of the shield—the *encomienda* system, the exploitation of the natives, the forced labor, the land policies which deprived simple people of their soil, the grasping exactions of landlords. "Practical slavery resulted, and the *encomienda* system became the black spot in the Spanish-American code." Inevitably, Mr. Bolton is limited mainly to Spanish literature of the conquest and exploitation, and in this literature the voices of slaves and peons are not heard; but he makes full use of Spanish complaints against mistreatments of the natives and with a discerning mind beholds whole masses of toilers not described in the records. Hé seems to be saying with Maitland: "Far from us indeed is the cheerful optimism which refuses to see that the process of civilization is often a cruel process" (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 223), and always to be aware of the historic maxim that those who aid in building a civilization are often destroyed by the work of their own hands and minds. So while even high school students may read Mr. Bolton's essays advantageously, scholars given to long and pondering thought about the very nature of history itself will find themselves richer in knowledge and understanding after they have finished the last page.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

New Milford, Conn.

*Don Diego Quijada, Alcalde Mayor de Yucatán, 1551-1565. Documentos sacados de los archivos de España. . .* Edited by FRANCE V. SCHOLES and ELEANOR B. ADAMS. [Vols. 14 and 15 of the *Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas*.] (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1938. Vol. I, pp. cvii, 353; Vol. II, pp. 463. \$5.00.)

The title of this set of eighty-five documents gathered around the name of the Alcalde Mayor of Yucatán, *Diego Quijada*, and dating from 1561 to 1565 does not adequately divulge the varied importance of these papers rescued from the Spanish archives by the senior editor, France Scholes, who in a masterly introduction of over one hundred pages gives a digest of the contents of this most interesting source material.

The Jesuits were not the pioneers in the educational movement, the author explains. They were preceded by the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Dominicans. The University of Mexico had, in fact, been opened almost twenty years before their arrival. The summary of the activity that preceded the Jesuits, while brief, is fair.

The author allows himself to be carried away by his enthusiasm, however, when he states that the Jesuits are responsible for establishing the custom of inaugurating the classes each year with a Latin oration, citing the opening of San Pedro and San Pablo (October 18, 1574) as an example (pages 108-110). This custom dates back to the inauguration of the University of Mexico in 1553, when Cervantes de Salazar delivered the first oration, with the viceroy and all the principal civil, military, and religious officials in attendance. Credit is likewise given to Alonso Gutiérrez, better known as Alonso de la Veracruz, for being largely responsible for the establishment of the University. There is no foundation for this implication, the efforts of Viceroy Mendoza, who gave a part of his estates, of Bishop Zumárraga, and of the Ayuntamiento, being a matter of record. Speaking of Alonso de la Veracruz, the first Augustinian to make his profession in Mexico, the author might have mentioned that it was he who wrote and printed in Mexico the first three college text books of the New World: *Recognitio Sumularum*, 1554, *Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis*, 1554, and *Physica Speculatio*, 1557, which were soon afterwards reprinted in Europe and used in European colleges.

It is a bit of an exaggeration also, to declare that "the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo became the center not only of Jesuit education, training and administration but of all public education in New Spain" (page 149), citing a eulogistic study by the eminent contemporary scholar Gerardo Decorme, S. J., in support of the assertion. The official center of public education throughout the colonial period was the University of Mexico. This is brought out by the author himself in the account of the dispute over the legal status of degrees granted by the Colegio Máximo (pages 162-163). Two misspellings have been noted: *Castoreña* for *Castorena* (page 86) and *Castenada* for *Castañeda*. In the bibliography the work of Félix de Osores, *Historia de todos los Colegios de la Ciudad de México*, edited by the reviewer as Volume II of the *Nuevos Documentos* and referred to in several instances in the footnotes under varying abridged titles, was omitted. The reviewer cannot refrain from commenting on the practice of placing the footnotes at the end of the text. The editors and not the author are responsible. But the practice is most trying on the reader who wishes to consult the sources cited as he reads the



text. It is a poor concession to popular taste and one that should be abandoned in works that are intended to be serious studies or books of reference.

All in all, the account of the educational foundations of the Jesuits in sixteenth-century New Spain is an "illuminating chapter in the history of education in America" as Dr. Bolton so aptly declares in the preface. It is high time that the cultural efforts of the different religious orders in Spanish North America, carried out under the most adverse conditions, receive the attention of American scholars.

C. E. CASTAÑEDA.

University of Texas.

*La Presidencia de Quito. Memoria histórico-jurídica de los orígenes de la nacionalidad ecuatoriana y de su defensa territorial.* By Pío JARAMILLO ALVARADO. (Quito: Editorial El Comercio, 1938-39. 2 vols. Pp. 1066.)

Pío Jaramillo Alvarado will be remembered as the author of one of the very few studies on the Ecuadorean Indian and also as an author who enjoys the rare privilege of having had this fundamental work go through more than one edition. A prominent Quito lawyer and frequent contributor to the Ecuadorean press on matters of social and political interest, Dr. Jaramillo Alvarado has attempted in this very long study in two sturdy volumes to analyze the basis of the Ecuadorean claims in the controversy still raging with Peru over the territories of the Oriente.

The first volume is much more than a study of the Presidency of Quito under the Spanish regime. A brief opening chapter deals with indigenous Quito, summarizing the well-known facts regarding the ancient Indian races that inhabited that area and their submission to Inca rule. Three chapters are devoted to colonial Quito as such, with reference to the political and administrative organization, the conquest of the Oriente through missionary enterprise and the general character of society in the Quito of the colonial epoch. Much of this material may appear extraneous to the matter at hand, namely, the exposition of Ecuador's claims to the territories lying beyond the Andes. However, in Chapter V, the first hint of this problem is given, as the author discusses the question of independence and the recognition of this independence by Peru. The declaration of independence at Guayaquil, followed by the creation of the greater Colombia brought the matter of the Peruvian-Colombian frontier to the fore. Dr. Jaramillo Alvarado suggests a number of the documentary sources relative to the Peruvian position at this time. The recital of treaties

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and instances becomes a long and somewhat tiresome thing: the Pedemonte-Mosquera understanding, the Treaty of Guayaquil and the like. The book is distinguished by constant references to treaties and long excerpts from both primary and secondary sources. As a matter of fact this study of the Presidency of Quito is a résumé, on a vast scale, of the evidence and thought of the Ecuadorean school which insists that history and law favor its claims to the Oriente. The inclusion of an inordinate number of citations makes the reading somewhat difficult.

The second part of the first volume deals with republican Ecuador largely in the light of the boundary controversy. An indication of the spirit animating the work may be gained from the title of Chapter II of this section, "El nuevo imperialismo incaico-peruano." The volume concludes with reference to the claims of Ecuador over the territories of Mainas and Jaén, the areas largely reduced by the missionaries from Quito.

Volume II is entirely documentary. It is a long and involved analysis of the treaties, claims and counterclaims of both parties during the nineteenth-century over the frontiers.

The text is useful to one engaged in an evaluation of the conflicting claims which have arisen over the Oriente. It is especially useful if many of the texts referred to are not easily available. Not only are original documents cited, but juridical decisions and the opinions of persons involved in the litigation. Obviously the book is devoted to strengthening the position of Ecuador and demonstrating the validity of its claims. As an exposé of the Ecuadorean position, the two volumes are admirably done, although it must be confessed that the massing of evidence and quotations is somewhat overwhelming. The books are useful primarily for one seeking detailed information on this problem, and especially for one already versed in the details of this ancient controversy.

RICHARD PATTEE.

Washington, D. C.

*Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693.* By IRVING A. LEONARD. (Albuquerque, N. M.: The Quivira Society, 1939. Pp. xvii, 323. \$6.00.)

We have here in admirable English translation twenty-one important documents from Spanish archives, dealing with the first attempt made by Spain to occupy Pensacola Bay. The documents are grouped under three heads; viz., "The Preliminaries" (seven documents),

"The Maritime Expedition" of Admiral Pez (six documents), and "The Land Expedition" of Torres y Ayala (eight documents). A real "find" which students of Hispanic-American history will welcome is the first of these twenty-one documents, the supposedly lost Pez memorial of June 2, 1689. To each of the documents Dr. Leonard appends valuable notes, in which he explains the text immediately preceding or adduces important bibliographical data or discusses matters of biographical and geographical interest.

Shortly before his untimely death, Dr. James A. Robertson wrote the Foreword to the volume, explaining how to the members of the Quivira Society fell the good fortune of having this excellent collection of source material added to their series of publications and how Dr. Leonard by reason of his recent studies concerning Sigüenza y Góngora was eminently equipped to edit these documents.

In his Introduction to the volume Dr. Leonard presents an excellent survey of the history of Pensacola Bay during the four years covered by the documents that follow. Especially noteworthy in this Introduction are the brief sketches of Andrés de Pez, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, and Laureano de Torres y Ayala—the three chief actors in the undertaking that, to quote Dr. Leonard, "resulted in little more than an accumulation of thick bundles of documents destined to repose undisturbed in the royal archives of Old and New Spain" (p. 68). The actual occupation of the bay by Spain "was carried out by a different and far less enthusiastic group of leaders" (p. 69). The story of this Spanish enterprise in western Florida and the international rivalries that attended it form the theme of a recent (1939) doctoral dissertation, entitled *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739* and prepared by Lawrence Carroll Ford for the Hispanic-American division of the Department of History at the Catholic University of America (Washington, D. C.). While Dr. Ford examined and drew information from all but one of the documents now published by Dr. Leonard, he is partly in error when he writes: "The Pez memorial itself has been lost, but its proposals are found in various documents . . ." (p. 10, n. 25). In the volume under review Dr. Leonard publishes the thirty-five paragraphs of this important Pez memorial (pp. 77-92) and in his Notes to it offers a scholarly discussion of the five copies of it which he succeeded in locating, though none of them, as he says, "proved to be the original" and all of them contained minor variants (p. 92). As to the authorship of the Pez memorial, Dr. Leonard ascribes it with good reason to Sigüenza y Góngora (p. 95), whereas Dr. Ford thinks "it was

probably drawn up by Barroto" (p. 10, n. 1), a pupil of Sigüenza y Góngora at the University of Mexico.

*Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, like the eight preceding volumes of The Quivira Society, is a real contribution to the history of our Spanish borderlands and should be on the shelves of every teacher and student interested in this section of American history.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK.

The Catholic University of America.

*The Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus from Cádiz to Hispaniola and the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. 112. Maps, index. \$2.50.)

Written by a man of recognized attainment, dedicated to Lieutenant-Colonel John Bigelow, U. S. A., a conscientious student of whom all fortunate enough to know him cherish grateful memory, what purpose is this small volume (112 pp.) by Professor S. E. Morison on The Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus intended to serve? Evidently it is intended to supplement knowledge of the discovery of the Lesser Antilles available to those "college cosmographers and library navigators" (p. 81), of whom the author may not obtain the tolerance he bespeaks (p. 8).

Four hundred and forty-four years in the First Admiral's wake, Professor Morison "made a personal reconnaissance of that part of Columbus's Second Voyage described in this book" (p. 5). First from "a yawl considerably smaller and much less seaworthy than Columbus's caravels," and then from "steamer, native sloop, and motor launch" (pp. 5, 6), in 1937, at approximately the same season of the year, he studied the course the Discoverer took from Dominica to Hispaniola in November, 1493. This, now, was an adventure which any "arm-chair admiral" (p. 3) might envy!

In the resultant volume Professor Morison has collated his personal observations with the best, not too satisfactory, contemporary and earliest accounts of Columbus's second voyage—that is, with Dr. Chanca, Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Syllacio, Simon Verde, Michele de Cuneo, Ferdinand Columbus; and with the oldest available maps, which are La Cosa's, Piri Réis's, Cantino's, etc. It would seem to any desk-swabbing navigator of documents that the result of such a combination as this—such a happy combination of "horny-handed" (p. 5) seamanship and "scholarly equipment to interpret" (p. 4)—



should have been more than the white *mus* which the Oxford Press has just brought forth.

For from this volume what does an envious and expectant sailer of sources get, more than his own close studies have already extracted? Especially if they were aided by ever so little experience on that same sea, plus library-bred dreams of Leeward Islands, pinnacles aflame, clouds massing on their summits, mirrored by day in the cerulean waters which Professor Morison so very beautifully describes (p. 64), or looming dangerous and mysterious by night under southern stars of a brilliance (pp. 106-7) which may have seemed incredible to Maine and Nova Scotia coastwise "yotters" (p. 5) and still hardly have drawn a remark from Spaniards or Italians accustomed to others as bright above the harbor at Genoa and the Guadalquivir at Seville. The melancholy answer must be: He gets many deductions necessarily not infallible, some labored conjectures (pp. 71 *et seq.*), a few gratuitous explanations (pp. 91 *et seq.*), and no fresh facts.

If he be unwary he may, however, find himself tacitly accepting inferences instead of facts, in at least two cases wherein cautious historians return an open verdict; for example, the existence of venereal disease in America when the white man arrived (p. 11) and (p. 14) the Italian nationality of Columbus.

To be sure, in this book Professor Morison is working a particularly arid theme, and might well defend himself by asking what facts he could hope to establish by a personal reconnaissance of a sea route so long after an inadequately recorded voyage. If the difficulty of establishing any be admitted, the conclusion follows that these by no means valueless results of Professor Morison's voyage might better have been used, as Dr. Corneau used his (p. 2 note), to embellish a new edition of source materials; or to support a serious study of those sources with the footnotes to which the fine descriptions, accurate calculations, and reasoned deductions here presented in book form might better have been reduced.

Professor Morison may yet put this, and other similar material which he is assembling, to just that use. As commodore of the ketch *Capitana* he is setting out to reconnoitre the course the First Admiral took upon his Fourth Voyage. Would that this armchair-apprentice seaman might accompany him upon that Harvard Columbus Expedition! For that pleasure it would be easy to relinquish the reviewer's privilege of criticising a work which none could have done better than the author of it.

I. A. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

*Participación de la Gran Bretaña y de los Estados Unidos: Legión Británica.* [Tomo segundo, *Independencia de las Colonias Hispano-Americanas.*] By LUIS CUERVO MÁRQUEZ. (Bogotá: Editorial Selecta, 1938. Pp. 457.)

This second volume under the above title begins with Chapter XXI and contains eight chapters dealing with the campaigns of Bolívar from Boyacá to Ayacucho. The interest is concentrated principally upon the part played by the British and other foreigners serving in these campaigns.

In lists throughout the book, in footnotes, and in five of the appendices the names of foreign individuals and organizations which took part in the various battles, and the strengths of these organizations are listed. In qualification of this information, the author says (p. 15): "Properly speaking the British Legion, that is to say the bulk of the British contingents, did not take part in the battle of Boyacá but remained in the army of Páez, excepting those who were wasted in the fruitless campaigns of Urdaneta and Montilla. It was a very small group which succeeded in following Bolívar in his memorable campaign."

Although thus emphasizing the fact that only a comparatively few of the British formed part of Bolívar's field army, the author gives full credit for their heroic and valuable services to the British and other foreigners in the British Legion, Albion Battalion, and the other organizations in which they were serving. In his description of the battle of Carabobo he gives two full pages to the heroic charge of the Albion Battalion.

Yet in introducing documentary evidence (pp. 72-75) to show that Bolívar felt that these mercenaries were not worth their cost, the author is extremely mild in the disparaging remarks he makes about the character of the majority of those who came with Hippisley, the treason of Wilson, the disaster of the expedition under English, the extravagances of McGregor and Maceroni, and the desertion of the Irish Legion.

With the exception of brief mention of Commodore John Daniel Danells, in command of the patriot flotilla cruising off the north coast of Venezuela, and the inclusion of the names of eleven North Americans in the lists given in the appendices already mentioned, there is little to justify the incorporation in the title of the words "and of the United States." Had the author substituted the name Hanover for the United States, he would have been more accurate.

While giving both sides of the discussion as to whether the battle

of Boyacá took place north or south of the bridge, the author favors the latter because of the nature of the terrain and because Barreiro had arrived at the bridge in time to cross it before the arrival of the patriot column. He states that the only action north of the bridge was the rear-guard skirmish at the *Casa de Teja* and that a spot south of the bridge, known as Barreiro's Rocks, is reputed to be the place where Barreiro surrendered. "How can we explain this if the battle took place north of the bridge?" asks the author, but he does not answer the question which might be asked, why if Barreiro's troops were south of the bridge with an open road to Bogotá, did he not, when he saw that the day was lost, detach some of them for the defense of the capital? The reviewer, who has personally visited the terrain and studied all available accounts of the battle, inclines to the theory advanced by the General Staff of the Colombian army that the main defense and surrender of Barreiro occurred north of the bridge and that he allowed himself to be surrounded and cut off from his base.

The descriptions of the several campaigns and battles are detailed, clear, and accurate. The arrangements of facts is so systematic and the organization of the story so rational that it simplifies a complicated matter and clears up confusion in the minds of even non-military readers. Few new facts, however, are brought out. From the footnote references it appears that the author relied largely on secondary works such as those of Restrepo, Rodríguez Villa, Groot, Torino, Duarte Level, and the present reviewer's *Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America*. For source material he apparently confines himself to Vicente Lecuna's *Cartas del Libertador*.

The remainder of the volume, entitled Part V, "Independence of the Hispanic American Republics" contains individual chapters on Mexico; Central America; Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela; Argentina; Chile; Paraguay; Uruguay; and The Peace with Spain. Since the author attempts to cover too much ground by describing not only the independence movements themselves in each country but the events leading up to these movements and their results, these chapters are little better than a summary which if more conveniently and systematically arranged might be useful for reference. The last chapter brings the story down to 1881 when Spain and Colombia ratified a treaty by which the former recognized the independence of the latter. In the chapter on Argentina the statement is made that in the Argentine and Chilean forces under San Martín the only foreigners to take part were General Miller, then colonel and chief of cavalry, O'Brien, faithful companion and adjutant of San Martín, and Admiral Coch-



rane, whose services on the Pacific almost compensated for his arrogance and lack of discipline.

In addition to the five appendices containing the lists of names already mentioned, there are other appendices covering such unrelated matters as the "expulsion of the Jesuits," "a prophetic letter of Bolívar," "statement by Bolívar's secretary about the interview at Guayaquil," and "official report of the battle of Pantano de Vargas." This volume contains a so-called "General Index" which is actually a table of contents and an "alphabetical index" which is a true but not exhaustive index. There are illustrations reproducing well-known portraits of Santander, Bolívar (two), Sucre, and San Martín. The reviewer is not impressed with any original or scholarly features of this volume.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Rollins College.

*The Mexican Revolution of Ayutla, 1854-1855. An Analysis of the Evolution and Destruction of Santa Anna's Last Dictatorship.* By RICHARD A. JOHNSON. (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Library of Publications. No. 17. 1939. Pp. 125. \$1.50.)

This is a doctoral dissertation, from the University of Texas, concerning the beginning of the revolutionary period in 1854-1855, which was carried through to the close of the French Intervention.

The War of Independence, beginning in 1810, had been preceded by social and economic upheaval practically since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, and the attendant reforms calculated to strengthen the Bourbon monarchies against the aggressive imperialism of England. Independence was not won until 1821, and the subsequent thirty years were almost entirely given over to what is most often characterized as the epoch of military anarchy. Then came the period of this book.

Inasmuch as Johnson's work is concerned only with the brief two-year span of the last appearance of Santa Anna upon the scene of the revolution in the middle period, it lacks certain elements of drama which might have given greater interest. Santa Anna was the perfect epitome of the divagations through which unformed political thought stamped the characteristics of hesitation, confusion and political insincerity upon the history of Mexico from independence to the War of the Reform.

Earlier historians have dwelt at length upon the episodes of the Revolution of Ayutla, the War of the Reform, and the French Intervention, a fairly continuous span in which Mexico was in mid-passage toward national economic entity. The author lists practically all of

these and relies to a considerable extent upon their findings. His contribution is in the detail with which he discusses these two years rather than in the findings of the thesis, which are not at great variance with earlier established writings. The sources upon which he draws are in many cases posterior to those used by Alamán and Bancroft. The Gómez Farías Papers in the García Library at the University of Texas form the chief new source, these being largely composed of letters to and from the patriot liberal reformer. The fall of the dictatorship established by chicanery was due, says Johnson, to the general disgust created by Santa Anna's autocratic rule. His attempt to create a large but inefficient army, the great growth of the national debt, favoritism, and ignorance of financial methods, and many concessions to conservatives, were the general reasons for the downfall, added to which were the foppery and the grotesqueries of imperial pretense. It is interesting to notice that Santa Anna's efforts to readmit the Society of Jesus were as odious to the Carmelites as they were to the liberals. Possibly, says Calcott, the numerous executions of rebels made Santa Anna more enemies than all his other punitive measures combined. When Santa Anna abdicated in August, 1855, the northern and southern rebels became split when Vidaurri in the North vied with the Southerners supporting Álvarez, while counter-revolutionary movements in Mexico City and San Luis Potosí matched a third undertaken by Manuel Doblado in Guanajuato. In the maze of these disintegrating movements, the Plan of Ayutla came to acceptance through compromise between the North and the South. Even so, the success of Álvarez was a hairbreadth victory, gained by the intervention of Comonfort the liberal, rather than by the influence of the Indian element, then rising toward the articulate expression to come with Juárez.

Johnson finds the Ayutla movement opening under the lead of a few disgruntled politicians, but he hastens to assure us that it produced shortly a government able and willing to protect a liberal constituent assembly.

While the book is carefully composed and organized, it moves forward on a dead level without playing up dramatic episodes or carrying the country with the movement as it might have done. It would not be fair to characterize the handling as pedestrian; nevertheless, a little emphasis on what constitutes the specific contribution would have made the thesis more serviceable to students who attempt incorporation of this episode in a general purview.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

*Modern Mexican Art.* By LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1939. Pp. 190. \$7.50.)

"Not until the early depression period, 1929-33, did Modern Art begin to take root in America and become an integral part of our cultural development. It was then that the interest in Parisian styles and the importation of Parisian pictures dropped, that paintings of the American scene became an important gallery feature, that the federal government took on the official responsibility for the patronage of the nature's artists, and that the significance of Mexico's contribution to Modern Art became fully apparent."

With these words Laurence Schmeckebier begins the analysis of that contribution in a volume which is outstanding among publications on the Fine Arts in Latin America. The documentary value of the book is extraordinary not only for the historical, cultural, biographical, and bibliographical information it contains, but for its wealth of illustrations. There are no less than 216 exceptionally clear photographs, two of which are reproduced in full color.

The figures of Orozco and Rivera, naturally the chief protagonists of the book, are treated in relation to the general movement of which they are a part. Prof. Schmeckebier traces the origins of the native Mexican school back to the establishment by Alfredo Martínez before 1913 of an open air school of painting at Sta. Anita, which was later to grow into the famous institution at Coyoacán. He stresses the importance of the group organization of Dr. Atl's Centro Artístico which was already meeting in the Calle Tacuba in Mexico City in 1910. It served as a precedent for that remarkable Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors, which ten years later the Obregón government by means of José Vasconcelos's program of national art was to employ in the first concerted mural decorations since colonial days. It is to this accomplishment and not to the single achievements of either Rivera or Orozco that we owe the present fresco movement in this country and throughout Latin America.

Much has been written about the indigenous influences in the work of modern Mexican painters. Successively, the author discusses the stylistic character of pre-Cortesian and colonial art in Mexico, book illustration and caricature in the nineteenth century, the *retablos*, pottery, and other aspects of folkart. Only the influence of the landscape itself, a vital factor in the study of Latin American art, as Angel Guido has recently shown,<sup>1</sup> is neglected. He stresses the creative enthusiasm of the members of the Syndicate, which led them to

<sup>1</sup> *Einfluss der Landschaft auf das südamerikanische Barock*, "Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv," XIII, 2 (July, 1939), pp. 148-157.



experiments that recall the Italian Renaissance itself, experiments in technique which developed from encaustic to true fresco by a process of trial and error, borrowings from a whole series of *quattrocento* figures plus a liberal imitation of El Greco, Impressionism, Neoclassicism, Cubism and Gauguin. The frescoes in the National Preparatory School by Charlot, Leal, Alva de la Caval, Revueltas, Siqueiros, and Montenegro, are all constructed on this eclectic basis, which does not, however, obscure the originality of their character. Monumental indigenous influences on one hand, clever borrowings from European models on the other, are the basis of the Syndicate's achievement.

Here, at last, the real greatness of José Clemente Orozco is apparent. In eighty-two illustrations accompanied by an ample text the author follows his progress from the early *Mexico in Revolution* series of drawings to the last flamboyant frescoes of Guadalajara. One senses the early lessons learned from the caricatures of José Posada, the clean patterns and vivid rhythms that grew out of them; the temptations resisted, as in the Botticellian *Maternity* fresco at the Preparatoria. One sees the gradual introduction of social and political meaning into the murals at the Preparatoria and elsewhere. But never does this overshadow the powerful and dramatic rhythms of the compositions, the wonderful drawing and chiaroscuro. These photographs reveal the essentially emotional character of Orozco's style, his use of distortion for dramatic effect à la Greco, and his mastery of pathos, as in the deeply moving Franciscan series on the stair of the National Preparatory School.

In contrast Diego Rivera's work often seems prosaic. His art is static in comparison with Orozco's. In spite of his attempts at naturalism, his compositions are too often flat, his figures stylized. Without accusing Rivera of insincerity, the author imputes that he has borrowed much from Orozco, without perceiving its significance. And the illustrations prove that the charge is justified. Only in such works as *The Death of the Peon* and *The New School* at the Ministry of Education, does one feel that the author has penetrated the soul of the Mexican people. Too often Rivera has cluttered his frescoes with a plethora of figures and accessories until they become little more than didactic patchwork quilts of Mexican history. There is in Rivera's work a kind of modern Mannerism, which all his technical prowess cannot hide.

The opportunity for comparison of Orozco and Rivera which this book affords is one of its chief virtues. But unfortunately it does not go far enough. One wishes that Prof. Schmeckebeier had devoted less space to elaborate description of the frescoes and more to an unbiased

analysis of the artists' personalities.<sup>2</sup> No one can say after reading this volume that he really knows either Rivera or Orozco. The same can be said of the whole problem of modern Mexican painting of which the book treats. The author never entirely penetrates it, never effectively analyses its real accomplishment or hazards an estimate of its ultimate importance. One regrets that no attempt is made to point out the tremendous significance of this movement either for artists in the United States or in the rest of Latin America. It seems unfortunate that such men as Siqueiros and Montenegro should be given little more space than Goitia, Tamayo and Rodríguez Lozano. A final objection is to the very title itself. Prof. Schmeckebier calls his book "Modern Mexican Art" and yet no space is devoted to sculpture or the decorative arts. The book should have been entitled "Modern Mexican Painting."

In conclusion let it be said that these criticisms, though serious, are clearly overbalanced by the general excellence of the book. The author has set for himself a narrower task than one might desire, but he has performed it supremely well. His is a pioneer work and should be continued in a wider field. It should inspire others to chart new researches in a territory which up to the present has been markedly neglected by art historians.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

Library of Congress.

*Novos estudos afro-brasileiros.* By GILBERTO FREYRE and Others. [Bibliotheca de Divulgação Científica, Vol. IX.] (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira S. A., 1937. Pp. 352.)

This is the second volume of papers presented at the First Afro-Brazilian Congress held at Recife in 1934. Gilberto Freyre, acting as editor, has contributed two of the papers, one of which is a description of the work of the Congress. The other sixteen treat aspects of the life of the Negro in Brazil in the various categories of anthropology, history, and folklore.

Under the impulse given by Nina Rodrigues and Gilberto Freyre, the study of the Negro in Brazil has gone far. While much of the work in the volume is more or less objective in tone, some of it impresses the reader with the sympathetic attitude of the Congress. The intention of several of the writers has been to rehabilitate the Brazilian Negro and, as Arthur Ramos says in his preface, to grant him the

<sup>2</sup> The account of the artist's personality given in Bertram Wolfe's *Diego Rivera* (Knopf, 1939), though entertaining and often enlightening, cannot be said to be unbiased.

scientific and human vindication that he deserves. This intention is also reflected in the definition in the first paper of the "mestiço" as the "verdadeiro brasileiro."

In effect, several of the writers are attempting to give currency to a new popular understanding of the term "Brazilian." In law, the Negro has been free of civil disability since 1888 and in theory enjoys equality with any other citizen of Brazil. But social discrimination against him has been, in certain times and places, so marked as to act as a very real barrier to his progress. Some of the present writers, therefore, set forth propositions and depend on the logic of the reader's mind to supply conclusions. The reader should abandon, for instance, the notion that the Negro is of a physically inferior race. This point is discussed by Freyre in an ingenious study of bodily deformation among fugitive slaves that he bases on descriptions of such slaves published in old newspapers. The deformities that he finds listed were, as a rule, occupational or the result of punishment and, therefore, he thinks, neither hereditary nor transmissible. The same point is defended by Jovelino M. de Camargo, Jr., in a study of England and the slave-trade. But here the defense is as much emotional as logical and rests on a semi-Marxist analysis of the position of the Negro in that trade. He concludes that there are neither inferior nor superior races nor peoples naturally inclined to crime or right living; the difference between two peoples is one of economic advantage.

This and similar papers show somewhat the change in opinion in Brazil as to the character of the Brazilian population. Not too many years ago, many Brazilians thought of racial mixtures that had contributed to the development of the country in terms of the white and the Indian and perhaps consciously ignored the black. Now Freyre and others interested in Brazilian sociology call for the recognition of the beneficent presence of the black. Certainly they are right in their belief that the Negro contributed to the development of Brazil. It remains to be seen what that contribution was and whether it was principally physical or partly intellectual.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873: a chapter in Caribbean diplomacy.* By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. vii-viii, 1-487. \$3.50.)

The omission of the word "island" in the title of this book is regrettable, for the complications of the subject appear thus to be minimized. Professor Tansill does not discuss only the relations of



the United States with Santo Domingo or the Dominican Republic, he also treats Haiti which is situated on the same island. At the time the book opens Haiti, then the French colony of St. Domingue, occupies the center of attention because of its importance to American trade. It was not until 1844 that American eyes became fixed seriously upon Santo Domingo, to the relative exclusion of Haiti. The organization of the volume reflects these facts: the first five chapters deal with Haiti, the second five with Santo Domingo. Professor Tansill has thus followed roughly the method employed by Dr. Mary Treudley in her well-known dissertation which covers practically the same period.

Throughout the eighteenth century traders from the United States had been accustomed to visit the ports of St. Domingue with or without permission of the French authorities. The French Revolution in a measure promoted this traffic, for the mother country found it more difficult than ever to maintain its prohibitory laws against foreign commerce. At the same time uprisings within the colony hampered production and caused American vessels to stay away. In 1798, following the XYZ Affair, President Adams forbade commercial intercourse with the French everywhere. Shortly thereafter, however, Toussaint Louverture, who had become the *de facto* ruler of St. Domingue, sought the resumption of American trade. The Adams government encouraged the Negro leader by sending a consul to the island. This official had scarcely left for his post when, as the author relates in full detail, General Maitland arrived in the United States from England, charged with a mission to effect Anglo-American cooperation in dealing with St. Domingue. The two countries favored the independence of the colony as a blow against France.

It was easy enough for Adams, a New Englander, to take a liberal attitude toward Toussaint. Jefferson, the slave-owning Virginian who succeeded him, naturally looked less favorably upon the rise of a black republic in the Caribbean. Not long before the Leclerc expedition he pledged his support in case the French undertook to reduce Toussaint. Although Jefferson later regarded the expansion of France in this hemisphere as a greater menace than the power and example of the Negro general, he never recognized the independence of Haiti which was proclaimed in 1804. All of his successors down to Lincoln followed the same course, while the Southern bloc in Congress always displayed agitation at the mention of granting diplomatic privileges to the blacks. Finally the Civil War brought about a change of policy—in 1862 the United States recognized the republic of Haiti. But not until the colored rulers of that island country had given American

traders and emissaries many a difficult hour, as Professor Tansill amply demonstrates, particularly in his chapter, "Black Majesty laughs at diplomacy."

The expansion of the United States toward the middle of the century occurred simultaneously with the winning of Santo Domingan independence from Haiti. Public opinion here sympathized with the Dominicans in the belief that this was a war between whites and blacks, although many officials of the new republic were shown to have Negro blood in their veins. But the governments of the United States, France and England were not moved by sentimental considerations—they viewed the Dominican Republic as a possible sphere of influence, a suitable spot for a naval base. And certain individuals hoped to make profitable investments there. Yet in the end Santo Domingo proved to be a fiasco for everyone concerned. The United States failed to obtain a lease on Samaná Bay, and private American investors, like Patterson and Murguiondo, lost their money.

After the Civil War the project of annexing the Dominican Republic was fondly nursed in this country. Several of the best chapters in the book recount the efforts of Secretary of State Seward and President Grant to this end. Seward went so far as to pay a personal visit to Santo Domingo City in order to press the matter, but he who could "put through" the purchase of Alaska failed to plant the American flag in the Caribbean. Grant did no better. His futile efforts to bring about the annexation of the Dominican Republic shook the political firmament for years, and ruined the public careers of such men as Senator Sumner and Motley, our minister to England.

It is impossible in a review to do more than suggest the rich contents of this book. Professor Tansill has shown a truly astonishing zeal in tracking down information on his subject. He makes use of printed works but in general his bent is to examine and cite manuscript sources here and in Europe. Sometimes he seems to be moved by an unnecessary *fureur de l'inédit* as when he passes by the letters of Edward Stevens and Toussaint Louverture, published by Dr. Jameson in the *American Historical Review*, in favor of the original manuscripts in the State Department Archives.

Several criticisms of the book may be made. It lacks a map, for one thing. One suspects indeed that Professor Tansill had not consulted a map himself or he would not have repeated Dr. Treudley's mistake in saying that Haiti embraces the western half rather than the western third of the island. The point is not unimportant in view of the superior culture and larger population of the smaller country which lie at the roots of the age-long difficulties between Haiti and

Santo Domingo. The commotions stemming from these difficulties have in turn affected the relations of the island with the United States.

But the chief criticism is not the lack of a map or even of a bibliography. It is rather that the wood is sometimes hard to see for the trees. One would not willingly sacrifice any of the facts so obligingly presented, yet the plethora of them does obscure the main outlines of the story. Fortunately, Dr. Treudley's brief, concise study is particularly strong in summarizing trends so it may well be used in conjunction with the one under review. With two such excellent studies available it seems safe to predict that the relations of the United States with the island of Santo Domingo will not soon again, if ever, be treated. There is no need.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The National Archives.

*Estudios de Historia Colonial Venezolana.* By HÉCTOR GARCÍA CHUECOS. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1938. Vol. II. Pp. xii, 312.)

The author of these *Estudios*, a native of Mérida, a lawyer in Caracas, has been connected with the Archivo Nacional since 1926, first as a cataloguer, more recently as an official archivist. This work has drawn him into historical research. His early studies, appearing first in the daily press of Caracas, were collected in Volume I of the *Estudios*, published in 1937. Some of the articles in this second volume have appeared in newspapers; others are published here for the first time.

In his zeal for historical scholarship and in the ability exhibited in these *Estudios*, García Chuecos sustains the tradition of the distinguished scholars of the Venezuelan Andes—among them Febres Cordero, Parra Pérez, and Parra León. He acknowledges indebtedness, too, to his first Director in the Archivo, Doctor Vicente Dávila, also an *andino*. From the late colonial period, it may be recalled, this Andean region, with its cultural center at Mérida, has aspired to literary eminence as a rival of Caracas. Unfortunately the world abroad hears more about the dictators it has produced than about its intellectuals.

This volume of the *Estudios* contains five main divisions. The first and most considerable, 112 pages, is a history of the Real Audiencia of Caracas from 1787 to 1821. The latter date, the author considers, marks the close of the colonial period in an institutional sense, if not in a juridical. All his studies on colonial history are



continued to this date, however, in spite of the earlier beginnings of republican institutions. His assumption seems a justifiable one; Spanish governmental institutions, including the Audiencia, continued to operate until Bolívar's victory at Carabobo. A very interesting phase of this study is the history of the Audiencia during the War for Independence—its difficulties under military rule, its suspension under Boves and Morillo, who set up extraordinary courts; its re-establishment by order of Ferdinand VII; and its final disappearance after the victory of Bolívar at Carabobo. There are chapters on the institution and organization of the Real Audiencia, its personnel, salaries, prerogatives, and procedures, the profession of law and its relation to justice, and finally an evaluation of the services of the Audiencia. The author has apparently made exhaustive use of the materials in the Archivo Nacional. It is to be regretted that he did not have materials for a case study of the functioning of the body—the books of *acuerdos*, and *votos*, the petitions and memorials, and the correspondence of the ministers, none of which are found in the Archivo Nacional. In spite of this lack, his study of this important body is a valuable contribution to colonial institutional history.

The second and third divisions of this volume relate phases of the diplomatic history of the War for Independence: "El Capitán General Moxó y el Presidente Petión," a documentary account of Moxó's representations to Petión in an attempt to prevent Haitian aid to Bolívar; and "Las Legiones Auxiliares Británicas," which gives particular attention to the work of the Spanish ambassador in London, the Duque de San Carlos, to impede the coming of the British legionnaires. The author makes grateful recognition of the more extensive work of Hasbrouck.

The fourth division, "Los Hombres y las Leyes" consists of three articles of unique interest, the last two relating to the author's native Mérida. The first is an intimate and curious study of the job of official executioner through the history of some of its incumbents. The second relates in detail the long-drawn-out case of a *merideño* in a matter of *limpieza de sangre*. The third is a study of the development of the idea of independence in the Venezuelan Andes, a region noted for its early liberalism as well as for its literary achievements.

The final division of the *Estudios*, "Cuadros Coloniales," contains chapters on various incidents and phases of colonial life—the earthquake of 1766; the colorful celebrations of a *cofradía* of Negroes; conflicts over *regalías*; police questioning of the popular representation of the mysteries; controversies over the registry of births; the

interesting disturbance over a Jew in Caracas; introduction of modern music in the Cathedral of Caracas; the efforts of the Rector of the University and the Consulado to secure the establishment of an Academy of Mathematics in Caracas; and many others. These "Cuadros" of colonial life and personalities drawn from documents in the Archivo suggest the variety of material existing there for a social and cultural history of colonial Venezuela.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

*Figuras y Figurones.* By MANUEL G. PRADA. Con el estudio crítico de Rufino Blanco-Fombona sobre el autor. (París: Tipografía de Louis Bellenand et fils, 1938. Pp. 294.)

The reader will look in vain for *figuras* among the studies of Peruvian presidents put forward here—at least they do not appear as such under the merciless attacks to which they are subjected. And still, they are not lacking, for two most redoubtable ones are present: Rufino Blanco-Fombona, the author of the prologue, and Manuel González Prada, the author of the book. Two more formidable *figuras* in the history of South American thought could hardly have been brought together.

Much as one admires the earnestness of these two doughty champions, it is a debatable point whether all that they wrote should be resurrected from the past. For example, the prologue of Blanco-Fombona, published first in the second edition of *Páginas libres* (Madrid, 1915), and again, with some changes, in *Grandes escritores de América* (Madrid, 1917), is a brilliant piece of writing—this cannot be denied—and yet it cannot be said that it presents a fair picture either of Peruvian history or of Peruvian literature. Particularly regrettable is his attack upon Ricardo Palma, whose *Tradiciones Peruanas* rank as one of the monuments of Spanish-American literature, and whose work in building up the National Library of Peru after its destruction was never fully appreciated.

The presidents who come under the fire of González Prada are Manuel Pardo, Nicolás de Piérola, Eduardo L. de Romaña, and José Pardo; and all of the articles, except two dealing with Romaña, have not appeared in print before. Marginal notes left by the author have been appended, and brief biographical facts about the subjects of the articles have been added by the editor, Alfredo González Prada. The activities of the latter in making his father's work better known are deserving of the highest praise, and the reviewer regrets that he cannot fully endorse this particular effort.

The article on Manuel Pardo is not as violent as the others. In fact, Pardo seems to have ranked among the men of his time almost as a *figura* in González Prada's eyes. He gives Pardo credit for good intentions and for attempting numerous reforms which might have been successful if he had had better men to help him or less unscrupulous enemies to contend with. Exaggerated as the article is, the picture it gives of civil strife in Peru on the eve of the War of the Pacific helps one to understand better its disastrous results for Peru.

In the case of the other presidents to whom González Prada directs his attention, it is not inappropriate to say that he rains right hooks, left hooks, jabs and body blows upon them until they are punch drunk, groggy and completely dazed. It is not long before the reader wishes there were a referee to call upon to stop the slaughter. The most telling blows are striking characterizations, for which González Prada seems to have had a peculiar gift. The following, for example, is González Prada's conception of Piérola:

. . . si en lugar de hacerle Ministro de Hacienda, le hubieran nombrado Arzobispo de Lima, ingeniero del Estado, profesor de lengua china, Contralmirante de la Escuadra o comadrón de la Maternidad, habría aceptado el cargo, sin titubear, creyéndose con aptitudes necesarias para ejercerle.

Romaña is pictured thus:

Un cojo que olvida la muleta, un miope que destroza los anteojos, un ciclista que pierde el pedal, recuerdan a Romaña.

The fight was stopped by an unseen hand before González Prada had finished up José Pardo, but not before this destructive punch had been dealt:

Vulgar como estudiante, vulgar como Secretario de Legación, vulgar como catedrático, vulgar como Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, vulgar como Presidente de la República, don José Pardo llegó al término de su período sin haber dejado una sola huella para revelar el tránsito de un hombre superior o, siquiera, bien intencionado.

After these examples of González Prada's style, who can doubt that he was a master of the Spanish idiom? And two other facts are evident in *Figuras y Figurones*. One is that political literature in Spanish America can be formidable and the other is that González Prada was a fighter of the first magnitude.

STURGIS E. LEAVITT.

University of North Carolina.



*La novela en la América hispana.* By ARTURO TORRES-RÍOSECO. *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. vii, 159-256. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. \$.75.)

In view of the growing interest in a more solid understanding of Latin-American culture, this handbook is timely. It deals with a phase of Spanish American intellectual life which represents perhaps better than any other the painful and not always successful struggle to develop a genuinely American culture in Spain's former colonies. The subject, of course, is too complicated to discuss exhaustively in a small volume, and this manual of Dr. Torres-Ríoaseco must be considered as an introductory survey which will supplement Coester's standard *Literary History of Spanish America*. The author promises a second volume which will treat *in extenso* the most famous modern novelists, such as Rómulo Gallegos and Mariano Azuela. To judge by fragments already published in various journals it will be a pleasant and valuable volume.

The present study is divided into three sections of unequal importance. Necessarily "La novela colonial" is practically limited to a brief analysis of Fernández de Lizardi's work. "La novela tradicional en el siglo XIX" outlines in summary fashion the novels written mainly under European influence and includes such authors as Isaacs and Blest Gana. By all odds the longest and most significant section is that entitled "La novela criolla," in which Dr. Torres-Ríoaseco sketches the rise of fictional emphasis on native themes and problems, commenting on the "mester de gauchería," the Indian novels of the West coast, and the novels of the Mexican Revolution. The radical orientation of many of these modern works is sympathetically noted. The study is introduced by an excellent essay on the general character of Spanish American letters.

Although the author peppers his work with incisive critical appraisals which have an original and often unorthodox accent, the principal value of his manual will lie in its usefulness as a well-organized guide to a thorny field. Some bibliographical data and a good index of titles and authors are included.

JOHN T. REID.

Duke University.

*Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y su tiempo.* By JULIO JIMÉNEZ RUEDA. (Mexico: José Porrua y Hijos, 1939. Pp. 327.)

Much has been written about Juan Ruiz de Alarcón who was born in Mexico and became one of the four great dramatists of the Golden

Age in Spain. Though he exercised a deep and lasting influence on Corneille, who in turn inspired Molière, his works have never received the detailed study they merit.

The book here reviewed is undoubtedly the best that the tercentenary of Alarcón's death has produced. It incorporates, for the most part, recent scholarship in the field and is a very readable account of the life, work, and times of the humpbacked dramatist whom both Spain and Mexico claim. The book is not always scientific, but it is an excellent summary of facts, theories, and criticism.

As a Mexican, Señor Jiménez Rueda naturally devotes much time to Alarcón's life in his native land. He sketches in a very leisurely way the family background and fortunes in New Spain, Alarcón's studies in the University of Mexico, departure for Salamanca, subsequent return to Mexico and failure to obtain a position commensurate with his talents. The rest of the book traces his career in Spain: the long-delayed realization of his ambitions at court as a result of which he turned to literary work; the obstacles in his way, due partly to his own character and personality, partly to currents of thought unfavorable to the thesis play: the rivalries among the authors of the time and the bitter attacks on the Mexican hunchback. All this makes a success story that is absorbing reading.

At times the book becomes a series of suggestive essays. One of these contrasts the dramatic work of the Spaniard, Lope de Vega, and that of the Mexican, Ruiz de Alarcón. This subject might well have been pursued to more detailed conclusions. Another essay analyzes in a very competent way the difference between Alarcón's system of morality and that of other dramatists of the period. Tirso is the theologian, Calderón the scholastic, and Alarcón the lawyer. An essay on technique and style sums up in the same concise way those traits which differentiate Alarcón's work from that of his contemporaries: the single plot, regularity of structure, precision of language and simplicity of style, detailed study of manners and customs, and motivation determined by character rather than exigencies of plot. It is in such concise summaries and the author's faculty for drawing vivid contrasts that the real value of the book lies.

The chronological table inserted in Appendix I completes and corrects the one published in 1871 by Fernández-Guerra y Orbe in his biography of Alarcón. Jiménez Rueda does not venture to assign exact dates to Alarcón's plays as his predecessor did, and hence some dates given by the latter do not appear in the book under discussion. A careful check of dates given by Alfonso Reyes in the appendices of his *Ruiz de Alarcón, Teatro*, Madrid, 1918, would have yielded

some additional dates for the plays. One might quarrel with Jiménez Rueda's selection of 1575 or 1576 as the birthdate of the dramatist, heretofore given as 1580 or 1581, but since there is no parish record to establish it, one guess is as good as another. If little progress has been made in the chronology of Alarcón's works, Jiménez Rueda's book proves, nevertheless, that much progress has been made in fixing with more precision certain dates in the dramatist's life, particularly those relating to his life in Mexico.

DOROTHY SCHONS.

The University of Texas.

*Protesta.* By ENRÍQUE OTHÓN DÍAZ. (Mexico: Ediciones del Grupo en Marcha, 1937.)

A noteworthy novel of the Mexican revolution and one of the works in Hispanic American literature which should be read. In his sub-title the author classifies his work as "six etchings"; in truth each chapter of this portrayal of the tragedy of the Mexican people is drawn with the clearness and the precision of an etching.

The book is the story of the Mexican peon's struggle for his land. Leading in his education, organization, and defense, stand the martyr Mexican rural school-teacher and the labor organizer of the city. But the peon's hard-won legal gains are thwarted by the physical violence of cut-throat bandits, ironically drafted from his own class and in the pay of the wealthy landlord or priest who has oppressed him for so long. Local forces of "law and order," also in the pay of land-baron rulers, support the bandits and further the oppression of the peon. In the city, the "dorados" (Gold Shirts) are the tool of the capitalist. "Son miembros de la organización fachista de connacionales que sin sentido de responsabilidad e ignorantes del mecanismo de la lucha de clases y de los verdaderos intereses del proletariado se han organizado bajo las banderas de un falso nacionalismo que inutilmente se propone detener la evolución social de México."

From the initial picture of El Viborilla's brutal attack upon the village and the murder of the peon leader, don Lencho, to the portrayal of the parallel oppression of the worker brother in the city, this work tells the Homeric struggle of the Mexican people.

It is significant that this struggle is a revolution conducted by lawful means to maintain and realize already won legal rights. As such, this work is a logical and worthy successor of Mariano Azuela's great novel of the revolution, *Los de abajo*. The spirit of this novel is fundamentally optimistic; one senses the might and the eventual success of mighty unleashed forces as the author concludes:



And so it will happen with this country of ours. For the moment, in the country and in the city, the stirring, the awakening of the masses. On the civil horizon, storm clouds, lightning flashes, injustice, anguish, and bitterness. . . . But soon, in the future, when the oppressed shall have recovered their liberty and won their goal of social progress, the land will have been worked into its mould and the future of Mexico will smile even as the sun's rays beam over the green plates of the leaves, on clear mornings, after a torrential shower.

*Protesta* is one of the best books which have come to us from modern Hispanic America. It should be read both for its literary excellence and for its portrayal of the sweep of those great social forces in our neighbor country to the south.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Library of Congress.

*Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1938.* Edited by FERMÍN PERAZA SARAUSA. (La Habana: Ediciones Bibliográfico Cubano, 1939. Pp. 195. \$1.00 per annum.)

The second annual list of current Cuban publications, this issue being devoted to 1938 items. A new feature is a large section (pp. 106-160) listing lectures delivered in Cuba during the year, with considerable information concerning their later publication. There is a valuable section listing the new periodicals of 1938 and a brief statement recording the new libraries opened during the year. A rather sketchy subject index, and an author index, complete the volume.

Useful as this bibliography is it suffers from two prime defects, in the opinion of the reviewer. First, its organization makes it difficult to find items on a given subject readily for publications are merely arranged alphabetically by author; and secondly, no evaluative or informative comments are given.

LEWIS HANKE.

Library of Congress.

*A Reference Index to Twelve Thousand Spanish-American Authors. A Guide to the Literature of Spanish America.* By RAYMOND L. GRISMER. *Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association Publications, Series III, Vol. I.* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1939. Pp. xvi, 150. \$4.50.)

This book will be welcomed with outstretched arms by cataloguers who are worried about the nationality of Spanish-American writers, confused by their pseudonyms, or uncertain about how to list the complicated names of particular authors. Here are twelve hundred of them, with their nationality indicated in most instances, their pseudonyms given whenever possible, and in a considerable number

of cases the dates of their birth and death. In addition, reference is made by key index to page numbers of one hundred and thirty bibliographies, histories of literature, and anthologies containing biographical or bibliographical information. Indeed, so useful is this book that each library ought to have not one copy, but two; one for the catalogue librarian, who will fight to the finish to keep it on her desk; and the other for the students of Spanish-American literature, who are becoming more numerous every year.

The compiler of this *Index* does not give his criteria for the selection of sources from which his formidable list of authors is taken, and consequently one is at a loss to understand why some books are included and others omitted.\* It is hard to see, for example, why as many as thirty-five anthologies should be listed. To be sure, most works of this sort contain some statement about the authors' birth and death and a partial list of their works, but these details are frequently unreliable. Can it be that the anthologies mentioned here are more accurate than usual? Looking further, one wonders why Amunátegui Solar's *Historia de Chile* appears in the list and not his *Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena*. No other histories of countries are mentioned. And one might also ask why only one of Trelles' bibliographies is listed, and why García Icazbalceta and René Moreno are omitted entirely.

It would be a thankless task to mention other omissions from the list of sources consulted by the compiler of this index, for after all his is a selected list. Nevertheless, the reviewer ventures to suggest a few possible substitutions for some of the less important items in the "Bibliography of Books Consulted": namely, Ospina, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de Colombia*; Otero Muñoz, *La literatura colonial y la popular en Colombia*; Parker, *Peruvians of Today*; Sánchez, *Historia de la literatura peruana*; Scarone, *Uruguayos contemporáneos*; and Silva Castro, *Fuentes bibliográficas para el estudio de la literatura chilena*.

The foreword by L. S. Rowe of the Pan American Union gives encouragement to those who seek to make the literature of Spanish America better known, and certainly Professor Grismer has opened up wide avenues in that direction with this *Index* and his previous bibliographical studies.

STURGIS E. LEAVITT.

University of North Carolina.

\* The compiler of the index writes that he made use of all the reference books available to him.

*Spanish-American Literature in the Yale University Library: A Bibliography.* By FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. x, 335. \$10.00.)

Recent conferences of specialists in Latin American studies have stressed the need of good bibliographies concerning important collections of Latin Americana in United States universities. Professor Luquiens, a pioneer in the teaching of Spanish-American literature in this country, has given us a bibliography which may well serve as a model for future publications of a similar nature. Considerable care has been taken to make the work a convenient one to consult: all entries are numbered; an unusually complete index clears up the question of pseudonyms and permits the reader to signal out at a glance those books which are exclusively the work of a writer from those in which he is represented by a contribution or a short selection from his works; in every instance the person using the bibliography can tell from the entries the genre of the works listed, and in a great number of cases the nature of its contents; the state of incomplete or worn volumes is described; writers are listed both by country and in the general index, so that the country with whose literature they are identified is known when the entry is consulted; where collections and anthologies purporting to contain selections by writers of one country include also writers of another country, the nationality of the latter is indicated. Those who use this bibliography will find that Professor Luquiens and his associates have endeavored, with considerable success, to make the finding of writers and works an easy task for the user. In a brief introduction to the bibliography, Professor Luquiens has explained certain matters dealing with minor, and generally helpful, liberties he has taken with capitalization, accentuation, and punctuation as they appeared on title-pages, especially those of books published after 1800. It would have been an additional help to the user to have certain examples of such changes, listed by entry-number, cited in the Introduction.

From the forty thousand volumes of Latin-Americana in the Yale Library, the present bibliography lists 5,668 books and pamphlets which Professor Luquiens has classed as Spanish-American literature. Serials have been included when written entirely by one man (the Montalvo periodicals, for example) and the Introduction states that the "complete list of Spanish-American serials in Yale Library will be presented, at a later date, in a separate volume." Professor Luquiens states further that it is his intention to publish a volume, *Spanish American Bibliography and Literary Criticism in the Yale*



*University Library.* For the present, such a plan must perforce be of some confusion to those who use the bibliography now published, as it will not be possible to know whether certain important critical studies not listed in the bibliography on literature are in Yale Library or not. In the present bibliography, a number of important critical studies on such figures as Sor Juana, Darío, Rodó, and others are not listed; these studies are surely as worthy of being called "good writing" as the works of R. Uribe Uribe listed by the compiler in his bibliography on literature. The assumption, then, would be that these studies are not to be found in Yale Library, but one cannot now be sure, since the bibliography of literary criticism is not published.

To judge by the present bibliography, the collection of Spanish-American literature at Yale University is an impressive one. Writers from the colonial period are, in general, well represented and there are numerous early and valuable editions of such writers as Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca, Las Casas, Sor Juana, Peralta Barnuevo, and other major figures, although numerous secondary figures are lacking. The nineteenth century is well represented by first editions, especially Mexico. What is both surprising and disappointing is to note that writers from the Modernista period to the present are inadequately represented. Whereas in many literatures the more modern periods may be of relatively slight importance in relation to the whole, critics in general agree that for Spanish America both prose and verse written during the last fifty years is of first-rate importance from the historical as well as the esthetic standpoint. In the Yale bibliography, the works of Rodó and Darío published to date are not all listed, and the same applies for their contemporaries. Among outstanding contemporary novelists, important works of Lynch, Gállegos, Güiraldes, and Gálvez are lacking; Azuela is represented by one single work, Zavala Muniz by none. Poets of continental fame and of importance in the creation of a "new poetry" are inadequately represented: the significant works of both Huidobro and Neruda are missing, and Borges is not represented by a single volume of verse. Among the Mexicans, there is no volume of poems by Villa-Urrutia, Novo, Pellicer, or Torres-Bodet, and yet María Enriqueta is represented by nine separate entries. Argentine poets of prominence, such as Arrieta and Bancho are represented in numerous anthologies, but by no book of their own; the same applies to such Uruguayans as Silva Valdés, Sábat Ercasty, and Oribe. Although gauchesque literature is in general fairly well represented, there is no work of Alonso y Trelles. Such important omissions in the modern period are too numerous to list; some countries—Uruguay, for example—are not

satisfactorily represented either in prose or in verse. Fortunately, lacunae in works from a fairly recent past are not excessively hard to fill, even in Spanish-American literature.

Though as a collection of this literature in the past fifty years the Yale collection leaves much to be desired, both scholars and bibliographers in the field of Spanish-American literature and history may learn a number of interesting and valuable facts regarding writers prior to that period from Professor Luquiens' bibliography. The book is a definite contribution to Latin-American studies. It is a generally admirable piece of work, and the two supplementary bibliographies promised by Professor Luquiens in his Introduction will be anticipated with eagerness.

WM. BERRIEN.

Northwestern University.

*Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España.* Edited by SILVIO ZAVALA and MARÍA CASTELO. I, 1575-1576. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939. Pp. 150 + 5 pp. introduction + 27 pp. index. \$2.00.)

This well edited little volume is a collection of documents selected to illustrate the policy of Viceroy Martín Enríquez with regard to the eternal problem of keeping the native Mexicans happy, while at the same time persuading or coercing them to perform the work necessary for the existence of the commonwealth. The documents (all of which were taken from the Archivo General de la Nación, General de Parte, Vol. I) touch on every activity which required native labor: the erection of public buildings, churches, and convents; the construction and maintenance of roads; the service and supply of *mesones*; labor in agriculture, mining, and textiles; transport (*tamemes*); domestic service; service of the clergy. Most of the cases deal with the adjustment of complaints of all kinds: underpay, overwork, extortion, and the like, but there is also a number of grants of *repartimientos*. The material is precisely of the type I used to illustrate my recent monograph, *The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala* (Berkeley, 1938), and, indeed, offers the best possible documentary supplement to my study.

Sr. Zavala, very wisely, in my opinion, has not hesitated to include certain pertinent documents which have appeared elsewhere, in the *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*—e.g., the significant ordinances for the regulation of the mines at Taxco, compiled in 1575 by the Visitador General, Dr. Lope de Miranda. He has also modernized the spelling for the benefit of the less expert.

The editor's introduction is necessarily summary, given the purpose of the collection, but it contains one generalization to which I cannot subscribe. Sr. Zavala (p. vii) states: "El retraimiento natural de la raza conquistada y sus distintos géneros de vida y ritmo de trabajo, en relación con los de Europa, hicieron imposible el establecimiento del salariado libre."

While Sr. Zavala's statement certainly holds for agriculture, yet there is an extremely important exception to it in the mining industry, in which the systems of coerced labor and free labor existed side by side until the middle eighteenth century. Whatever the cause may have been, all the evidence I have encountered supports the astonishing observation of Humboldt, namely, that by his time the mines of New Spain were operated with free labor. The reader is referred to my discussion of the matter in the study referred to above. Another exception is the growth of a wage-earning class of skilled mechanics in the cities and in the sugar mills.

The reviewer has a suggestion to make to the publishers, that is, that the subscription price of the volume (\$2.00, United States) is excessive for a work of this size and that it will limit the circulation. It is to be hoped that the future volumes of the series will be more moderately priced.

Let me hasten to add, in ending, that the series is admirably conceived and that this first volume is a monument to Sr. Zavala's intelligence and industry. Its value to scholars in the field is indisputable.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

Mexico City.

*An Introduction to Hispanic American History.* By TOM B. JONES. (New York: Harper Bros., 1939. Pp. xii, 577. \$3.50.)

Professor Jones' story falls into six parts: Discovery, Conquest, Colonization, Revolution, The Nineteenth Century and The Twentieth Century, the last two of which occupy slightly more than half the volume. The material is presented clearly and interestingly in the manner necessary to stimulate the study of Hispanic-American history. Mr. Jones reveals a wide acquaintance with the results of modern Hispanic research. Suggested readings are well chosen and easily available.

A thoughtful condensation of materials, historical and anthropological, on the Indian background distinguish the opening chapter. It is so well done that the reviewer suffered a tinge of disappointment in the conclusion. What *were* some of the effects of Indian civilization on later history, as, for example, the concept of property prevail-



ing in the *ayllus* and *ejidos*? What of the other institutions and ideas that have persisted? The essence of Latin-American civilization is not the record of what the Europeans did so much as the conflict produced by the imposition of European civilization upon Indian culture and the resulting creation of societies which constantly reveal the elements of this conflict.

The divisions, Conquest, Colonization, Revolution, are admirable summaries. The administrative institutions are well detailed, although the vitality of town government is neglected for emphasis on certain institutions which have disappeared.

Two chapters on the Revolution well prepare the reader for nineteenth-century changes. But were not outside influences a stimulus while economic and social conditions so ably described in the preceding chapters provided the real impetus? Professor Jones senses the profound differences motivating the revolutions in Mexico and South America. Bolivar and San Martín are presented in the heroic proportions they deserve; Hidalgo does not fare so well. In clarifying nineteenth-century Latin America, the author does yeoman service in combating prejudices derived from our own and English nationalism. And he makes clear the main difficulty of the period: land monopoly as a source of justified revolt. The succeeding chapters on the various countries supply in adequate detail the story of this evolution.

Professor Jones recognizes the world forces affecting twentieth-century Latin America: science, heavy foreign investment, the development of means of communication, internal social readjustment, the first World War and the current depression. With this broad canvas before him, he traces the story of the individual nations to the present. A clear factual record and a pattern of social, economic and political change emerge. The concluding chapter adds the necessary details of modern international relations and projects a conception of the future.

The author fulfilled his intention to write an *Introduction* to Hispanic-American history. It will take high rank and deserves wide use because of its clarity of thought, fertility of ideas, readability and comprehensive coverage.

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

University of Alabama.

*A History of Latin America.* By DAVID R. MOORE. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. Pp. xiii, 826. \$4.00.)

This volume of the Prentice-Hall History Series, issued under the direction of Dr. Carl Wittke, is designed as a textbook for upper col-

lege classes. It is a general survey divided into three fairly equal parts which treat of the colonial period and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first part, "The Colonial Period," begins with chapters on the European and American background and Spanish exploration. Following these there are three regional chapters on Mexico, Peru, and the rest of the Spanish colonies. Two others deal with Spanish colonial institutions in their political, economic, religious, educational, and social aspects. Those on the Wars of Independence of the Spanish colonies, the Spaniards in the United States, and Brazil conclude this part. The second part, "Nineteenth Century Developments," depicts the early years of independence and then discusses the political development of the several countries grouped together in four chapters. In the final part entitled "Latin America Today" the first five chapters are regional but treat each country separately. These are followed by a discussion of foreign relations, including Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. The distribution of the space gives an opportunity for a sufficiently ample treatment, especially of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All through the book there is an indication of bias, which is most apparent in the chapter on foreign relations. Of this chapter seven pages are devoted to the relations with Germany, five to those with Great Britain, and 49 to those with the United States. No discussion whatever of the relations between the several Latin-American countries is presented. There is a marked contrast between the place accorded to the British relations and influences which are all found to be good and the catalogue of the sins of the United States. The dislike expressed by some Latin Americans for the Monroe Doctrine is stressed. There are ample citations for this viewpoint, but none to show the favorable attitude on the part of many others. Although the helpfulness of the Monroe Doctrine is admitted finally, this admission is quite obscured by the lengthy attack which precedes. The volume presents a decidedly critical attitude towards the policies of the United States Government. Eleven maps and a classified bibliography add to the value of the work.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Simbolismos (Maya Quiches) de Guatemala.* By FLAVIO RODAS N. and OVIDIO RODAS CORZO. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1938. Pp. 148. 45 illustrations.)

The authors, father and son, natives of the department of Quiché, are in excellent position to observe Maya-Quiché symbolism. The father, Don Flavio, has spent a lifetime collecting information. Don Ovidio, the son, is one of the outstanding photographers of Guatemala. Since this particular work is based largely upon contemporary symbols, the team has been perfectly complementary. The authors have not sought to weave their bits of information into any particular anthropological pattern or lesson, but they have at least preserved a great many symbols upon native garments, some of which are on the verge of extinction. And in Chichicastenango they have treated one of the most distinctive contemporary Indian communities in the world. Their annotations are woven into the text. One will look in vain for such North American tools as bibliography and formal annotations. This publication is only one of the many contributions being made to learning through the medium of Guatemala's excellently managed Tipografía Nacional, under the direction of Señor Don Nicolás Reyes.

*Literatura Guatemalteca en el Período de la Colonia.* By AGUSTÍN MENCOS FRANCO. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1937. Pp. 192.)

When Henríquez Ureña in 1930 published his *El Retorno de los Galeones*, he was one of the few historians of Latin-American cultural life willing to concede space to Guatemala. Proportion and perspective in the subject have, therefore, suffered not a little. After all, Guatemala ranged only below the viceroyalties in importance and maintained an independence in the colonial period not unlike that of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Unless the historian pays a resolute visit to the Society of Geography and History as well as to the Tipografía Nacional in Guatemala City, he is likely to go uninformed on many things which, afterwards, seem indispensable information for the student of Hispanic culture in America. Thus it is with a feeling of gratitude to the Guatemalan government that one comes to this book, written in the form of articles for *La República* in 1893 and 1894,



of "Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo de Guatemala." In Guatemala where, before the time of Joaquín Pardo, the organized facilities for research in most of the humanities and social sciences remained limited, there were correspondingly more of the cultured classes who turned to the things of the "spirit" in literature. A preponderance of the seventy-odd Guatemalan intellectuals today would fall into the literary category. In the revival of this book of Mencos Franco, dead since 1902, we have a panorama of writers who would dignify any roster: Francisco Ximénez, Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Antonio Remesal, Francisco Vásquez, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Juan de Mestanza, Roque Nuñez, Miguel Valle, Manuel Iturriaga, and Rafael Landívar. Although Mencos Franco has analyzed Guatemalan poetry with the feeling of a poet, he has maintained an admirable *mezcla* of literature and cultural history which would add liveliness to history and substance to literature. This contribution to the history of Latin-American culture, although confined to a small area, should take a proportional place beside the works of Henríquez Ureña, Vicente G. Quesada, and many other better known critics.

*Diario de Lima de Juan Antonio Suardo* (1629-1639). Edited by RUBEN VARGAS UGARTE, S. J. [Biblioteca Católica del Perú]. (Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1936. 2 vols. Pp. xviii, 308; 207.)

A manuscript which has gathered dust since the first part of the seventeenth century is here brought to light. It vouchsafes again the historical awareness and administrative application of the Spanish official. In this instance the viceroy of Peru was enjoined to have a daily record kept. This task was entrusted first to Dr. Juan Antonio de Suardo and then to Diego de Medrano. The work covers the years 1629 to 1639. The time from June 1, 1637, was apparently recorded by Medrano. Upon the suggestion of the distinguished Argentine historian, José Torre Revello, the editor discovered the manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias. The discovery is the kind of document with which all contemporary events and movements will have to be matched. The superficial critic will remark the trivialities, but it is of such things that social history is made. One day a certain gentleman has an altercation with some sailors in Callao, on another a man is found dead in the outskirts of the city, and on still another the archbishop participates in some "conclusions" in the University of San Marcos. On almost every page of these volumes one can observe the hasty drawing of the sword, the severe protection of the royal *hacienda*, and withal the diligence with which the viceroy and

*oidores* attended matters of state. This account, especially under the self-effacing work of Suardo, is much richer and more detailed than the later work of José Mugaburu y Horton and Francisco Mugaburu.

*Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. Primer Criollo.* By LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1939. Pp. 258. \$16.00 Chilean.)

On the fourth centenary of the birth of his subject, the well-known Peruvian literatus has answered the demands of Peruvians for a "complete, truthful, well documented, and elegantly written" biography of Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. Señor Sánchez began his literary career in 1914 with an article dedicated to the Inca Garcilaso. His enthusiasm continued through his *La Literatura Peruana* (1929) in which he paused for a prolonged bio-critical glance at the Inca. In this work his enthusiasm for his subject falls little short of fervor. The tone of the entire presentation is fictional, and so profoundly does Señor Sánchez appreciate Garcilaso that he seems to move his subject through Peruvian history like some inexorable force. The facility for language is bound to engage one's admiration. In view of the necessity for a thoroughgoing biography, based upon prolonged investigation, and conventionally documented, one wishes that an author so well prepared as this one might have paused for such a prosaic contribution before passing on to this Ludwig-like work.

*Latin America in World Politics.* By J. FRED RIPPY. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1938. Pp. xiii, 303. Maps. Third edition. \$5.00.)

This work, the first edition of which was issued in 1931, is now given to the world after a second revision. When it was originally published, one of the most striking and educational things about it was the very clear note of Yankeeophobia which the book left ringing in one's head. In this last edition this anti-American reaction begins to lose its lasting appearance and to assume a definite, historically dated aspect. Thus the evolution of this interpretation is in itself a good index to fundamental changes coming over inter-American relations from Stimson to Hull. Questions which Professor Rippy could only raise originally are now given adequate answers. The new policy is presented in its new setting and, although the author could not have anticipated with certainty the issue of last September, his treatment of the apprehensions occasioned by Nazi and Fascisti infiltrations and influences remains sound. This is an opportune year for the publication of this, one of Professor Rippy's most outstanding books.

*Dictatorship in the Modern World.* Edited by GUY STANTON FORD. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1939. Pp. xiv, 362. Trade edition, \$3.50; text edition, \$2.75.)

President Ford took advantage of a number of papers on dictatorship read before American learned societies by various young scholars to form the nucleus of this book. Revised and enlarged, the second edition embraces ten new essays, dealing preponderantly with European dictatorships. Notable among the new contributions is the essay of Calvin B. Hoover on "The Economics of Fascism." The volume has engaged the attention of Hispanists on account of the brilliant essay of Professor J. Fred Rippy, "Dictatorship in Latin America." This essay is not only a superb example of synthesis in a most diffuse field; it is also the product of the application of ideas to the whole theme. Having resisted the temptation to run off at tangents in pursuit of many scores of dictators, Mr. Rippy has maintained his analytical pattern. Now he has amplified his original essay to include events since 1935. The editor has increased the value of this new edition by including Joseph R. Starr's "The Chronology of Dictatorship in Post-War Europe." The editor is to be commended in his efforts to strip the volume of all impedimenta, for it is a volume calling primarily for good straightforward printing. An index and a select bibliography at the end, however, would not have been a detraction.

*Trujillo: the Man and His Country.* By SANDER ARIZA. (New York: Orlin Tremaine Company, 1939. Pp. 200. Illus. \$2.00.)

In *Trujillo* the publishers profess to present a life of a celebrated neighboring character, not in the cut-and-dried style and precision of the American biographer, but in the native style which enables us to listen "to the heart beats and the inner thoughts of these neighbors themselves." Among others whose authority is eschewed are the "political exiles reviling a proud nation." In this way "Trujillo Molina emerges as a significant figure, and a truly great man. It is time we saw him as his people see him, and at last we do." This book is more like a lively journal kept by a partisan for the edification of the family juveniles than a detached study. It has a certain swing—devoid of chronology as the publishers acknowledge—which makes it engaging reading. It states the conventional arguments for a dictatorship—public works and the suppression of disorders. It gives a glimpse at the United States Marines through native eyes. Withal the note of hero worship pervades it. The bars on the recent relations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic are played in *diminuendo*. Al-



though not unattractive, the book smacks distinctly of Parson Weems addressing American youth on George Washington.

*The Good Neighbors: the Story of the Two Americas.* By DELIO GOETZ and VARIAN FRY. [Headline Books, No. 17.] (New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1939. Revised edition. Pp. 96. Illus. \$.25.)

This is the second printing of *The Good Neighbors* within the year. It would be hard to compress more useful information into ninety-six pages than the authors have succeeded in doing. Although obviously designed to illuminate inter-American problems for the average enlightened citizen, this little book would be useful to the scholarly student of international relations and very helpful to the university lecturer who took any stock in visual education. Its range is from geography to products, from colonial trade routes to modern links with the world, from restriction of the colonial period to freer immigration policies today. American expansion in trade and capital is graphically presented, while startling growth of Brazilian cotton and electric power also strike the eye. The chart, "Whose Neighbors Are They?" showing how much farther New York is from Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires than from Lisbon, Plymouth, and Berlin, is arresting. Taken for what it is, a compact little handbook, this offering of the Foreign Policy Association is worthy of distinct commendation.

*Antología del Canal, 1914-1939.* Edited by OCTAVIO MÉNDEZ PEREIRA. (Panama: Star & Herald Co., 1939. Pp. 157. Maps and illustrations.)

Dr. Méndez Pereira, president of the University of Panama and director of the Academia Panameña de la Historia, has long been a thoughtful student of Panamanian life and history. Like most Panamanians of the intellectual class, he has been fascinated with the fact that Panama unites the western world both by land and sea, a fact to which Bolívar gave classical and frequently quoted expression. And Panama does occupy a situation which encourages the dream that Panama shall be the focal point of commerce, the center of a world-wide school of tropical medicine and, to quote Justo Arosemena, the "sanctuary of civilization." After the numerous quotations of this tenor, Dr. Méndez Pereira himself contributes some encyclopedic facts about the early history of the idea of a canal and the French Panama Canal Company. This section is followed by statistics on the American period of the canal together with literary and journalistic descriptions and statements by men like Vicente

Blasco Ibañez and Waldo Frank. There is also an appraisal of life in Panama and the Canal Zone by Evelyn Moore, followed by a brief essay on "The 'Canal Treaty' and the Republic of Panama," by Eusebio A. Morales. One gathers in the last sections of the *Antología* that the Panamanians are eager to make plain "naked sovereignty" of Panama over the Canal Zone, to internationalize the Canal itself, and to exempt it from hostilities in time of war! The compilation concludes with the Spanish texts of the "Convención de Canal Istmico" and "El Nuevo Tratado del Canal [1936]." Señor Méndez does not present this little book as an exhaustive scholarly examination of the problems of the Panama Canal. It is simply a handbook or anthology.

*Marcy & the Gold Seekers: the Journal of Capt. R. B. Marcy with an Account of the Gold Rush over the Southern Route.* By GRANT FOREMAN. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. xiv, 433. Map. \$3.00.)

Grant Foreman has produced in this book an account of the southern route to the gold fields of California which makes a good picture of the Southwest just after the war with Mexico. The documentary part of this volume is the report of Captain R. B. Marcy who was selected in 1849 to lead a party of emigrants over the southern route, from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fé, New Mexico. Marcy's flair for keeping a detailed and readable account of this trip so engaged congressmen that they ordered his report published. The scarcity of the original edition, however, is the justification for this new one. Mr. Foreman fills out the story of the route step by step across the continent in which the narrative does not suffer in literary quality. The supporting annotations throughout give the impression of careful editing and attest to the author-editor's affectionate zeal for his subject. As important as is this contribution for the history of the Southwest and West, it offers little in the Hispanic-American field beyond sidelights on the Mormon Battalion, Santa Fé, Mexican emigrants, Mexican villages, and the Mexican border.

*Bolívar: Internacionalista.* By JORGE PÉREZ CONCHA. (Quito: Talleres Gráficos de Educación, 1939. Pp. 124.)

In this booklet Señor Pérez Concha sets forth the career of Simón Bolívar in the rôle of internationalist. He does not use the methods of the investigator seeking to establish a case beyond cavil; he merely eulogizes and quotes liberally. The substance of his documentation is contained in quotations within the text. Printed in large type, this

book is evidently designed for the young and weak of eye. As a serious study, the author could not expect it to take precedence over the many thoroughly scholarly books written about the origins of the Congress of Panama and the Congress itself. The purpose seems to be to make out Bolívar as the clear-thinking champion of American solidarity, the advocate of arbitration, and the "Héroe Máximo de la libertad de América." Like all Bolivarian controversialists, Señor Pérez Concha walks confidently over much uncertain ground.

*La Guerra de Tejas: Memorias de un Soldado.* Edited by CARLOS SÁNCHEZ-NAVARRO. (Mexico: Editorial Polis, 1938. Pp. 187.)

After eighty-two pages of introductory material, distinguished chiefly by the editor's denunciation of writers who "have falsified the truth in order to accommodate it to the taste of triumphant caudillos," come the memoirs of José Juan Sánchez-Navarro, a Mexican soldier. Extracted bit by bit from the army records for the last month of 1835 and the first four of 1836, this document throws a good deal of light on Mexican operations during the war with Texas (pp. 91-158). It is worth while to see incidents like the Alamo as a Mexican officer saw them. Although the preliminary part is drawn out, the document is valuable. The editor has also included a list of manuscripts, a bibliography, and an index. This is a procedure which more Latin-American editors ought to follow.

*Two Strikes and Out.* Edited by WILLIAM E. McMAHON. (Garden City: Country Life Press Association, 1939. Pp. vi, 156. \$1.00.)

The editor of this example of oil propaganda has had ample opportunity to familiarize himself with the legal aspects of the Mexican petroleum industry, first on the legal staff of the Compañía Transcontinental de Petroleo, S. A. (1919-1938), and then as head of the legal division of Huasteca Petroleum Company. Desiring "to present fairly and accurately the leading facts connected with the Mexican Government's program of confiscation of foreign-owned oil properties," the editor also makes it naively clear that his purpose is "to show the violation of the basic principles of international law dealing with property rights." The enlightenment which it is hoped will follow the publication of this book is designed to make possible foreign trade and foreign investments without which the editor is convinced there can be "neither good neighbors nor domestic prosperity. . . ." It would be difficult for a man in Mr. McMahon's place to give the impression of the objectivity which commends itself to the serious student. Nevertheless, on the contrary, his very captions are



redolent of point of view, not to mention prejudice. "Labor Marries Politics" will serve as an example. His appendices, showing "Mexican Rulers since Porfirio Díaz," "Insurrections in Mexico since 1910," are designed to show the irregular demise of nearly all Mexican presidents and the political instability of the United Mexican States. The "Chronology of the Controversy Over Oil," serves a more useful, although less obvious, purpose. This book is as distinctly pamphleteering as if it were written in the eighteenth century and as distinctly propaganda as if written in the twentieth! Only as the petroleum industry's argument on the Mexican oil problem since the constitution of 1917, especially in the Calles and Cárdenas administrations, will this book have value as an historical document.

*Mexico in Transition.* By CLARENCE SENIOR. [L. I. D. Pamphlet Series, Vol. VI, No. 9.] (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1939. Pp. 54. \$0.15.)

This booklet is clearly a tract. In it the author states the Mexican argument against what he regards as the traditional exploitation of the Mexican masses through which the resources of Mexico have been taken from under the noses of Mexicans from the time of the great discovery at Zacatecas to the time of Cárdenas. In education, held to have been primarily aristocratic, in labor, and in land, it has been the same story. Once this human argument is built up, Mr. Senior proceeds to show why the United States should accept the plan of compensation laid down by President Lázaro Cárdenas. The danger of fascist penetration into Mexico, so long used as a camouflage by American business men, he argues, lies in American treatment which will drive Mexico in the direction she does not choose to go.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Under the joint auspices of the Committee on Latin-American Studies, of the American Council of Learned Societies, and the University of Michigan, the first of a projected series of National Institutes was held from June 26 to August 18, in conjunction with the Summer Session of the latter institution.\* The program was made possible by the active coöperation and assistance of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Rockefeller Foundation. The general purpose was to offer an opportunity for qualified and interested persons to supplement their training in the field through courses, lectures, round-table discussions, art exhibits, dramatic performances, and concerts. It was also hoped that the experts in the varied aspects of Latin-American culture would, through the conference method, bring their problems into focus and reach decisions as to aids to research and desirable points of attack.

The regular staff of the University of Michigan in the fields of Anthropology, Economics, Fine Arts, History, Geography, Political Science and Romance Languages and Literature was strengthened by the addition of Professor John P. Gillin, South American Anthropology; Professor Chester Lloyd Jones, Latin-American Economic Relations; Professor C. H. Haring, South American History in the National Period; Professor Gilberto Freyre, Brazilian Social History; Professor J. Lloyd Mechem, Latin-American Governments; and Professor William Berrien, Portuguese Language and Literature. The regular courses were attended by seventy-five members of the Institute, of whom thirty were the recipients of grants-in-aid. In addition, many other students of the Summer Session enrolled in individual courses or attended the special lectures which were open to the public. Informal luncheon meetings enabled this Institute group to meet members of the staff, to become acquainted, and to exchange ideas.

The special lectures were: "The European Colonies of Brazil," P. E. James, University of Michigan; "Colonial Architecture in Brazil," Robert C. Smith, Latin-American Division, Library of Congress; "Musical Activities in Latin America," William C. Berrien, Northwestern University; "The United States and Central America," C. H. Haring, Harvard University; "Areas of International Concern

\* A second Institute will be held at the University of Texas during the summer of 1940.

in Latin America." Robert S. Platt, University of Chicago; "The Next Step in Pan-Americanism," Jesse S. Reeves, University of Michigan; "An Anthropologist Visits the Carib Indians of Northern British Guiana," John P. Gillin, Ohio State University; "Colonial Society in Brazil," Gilberto Freyre, United States of Brazil; "Antioquia; an Historical Interpretation," Carlos García-Prada, University of Washington; "The Educational System of Chile," Señora Amanda de la Barca; and "The Bibliography of Recent Literature in Latin America," Concha Romero James, The Pan-American Union.

The week-ends were utilized for a series of conferences and symposiums participated in by numerous experts in the special fields. Space permits a mere mention of each of the meetings. On July 7 and 8, under the direction of Dr. Robert C. Smith, of the Latin-American Division of the Library of Congress, various aspects of the art and architecture of Latin America were considered. An able lecture on city planning in Mexico, by the distinguished Mexican city planner, Carlos Contreras, featured this discussion. A "Loan Exhibition of Latin-American and Pre-Colombian Art" collected and arranged by Harold L. Wallace, Adele Conlin Weibel, Robert C. Smith, and Helen Hall, served admirably to illustrate the material under discussion. In addition to paintings, drawings and prints, art objects, tapestry, fabrics, pottery, and a general representation of most of the arts, both for the pre-Columbian and later period, were shown. A Coronado Exhibit of rare books and maps and the publication of that explorer's "Muster-Roll" in English translation by Arthur S. Aiton, in honor of the Institute, was the contribution of the W. L. Clements Library of American History. The University of Michigan Library displayed a special exhibit of the American Library Association's Collection of Contemporary Latin-American books.

A "Conference on Problems in the Study of the Literature of Latin America," on July 20, was presided over by Professor Arturo Torres Riosco of the University of California. He was assisted by Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt, of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Irving A. Leonard, of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Professor William Berrien, of Northwestern University. The main problems seemed to be matters of implimentation and bibliography. The "Conference on Bibliography and Research Materials in the Field of Latin-American Studies," on July 21, 22, has been reported on in this REVIEW in the October number. A "Conference on Land Tenure and Agricultural Systems" followed, on July 24 and 25, under the stimulating general supervision of Professor Carl O. Sauer of the University of California. A wide group participated in a series of discussions in which the



problems were traced from origins in Spain down to the present. Dr. Robert Chamberlain, of the Historical Section of the Carnegie Institution, Professor C. W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, and Professor Robert S. Platt, of the University of Chicago, presented the materials from which the general debates stemmed. A tendency to draw illustrations of applications and examples too exclusively from Spanish North America should be corrected in any continuing round table.

A final Conference on Economic Relations with Latin America was organized by Professor D. M. Phelps, of the University of Michigan. Under the able chairmanship of William S. Culbertson, formerly Ambassador of the United States to Chile, and Henry F. Grady, vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, a panel drawn from government, banking, business and academic circles attacked the general problems of investment in and trade with Latin America. The keynote of an objective and realistic presentation was the removal of causes of friction in relations arising out of investment and trade. The superiority of direct as opposed to portfolio investment was demonstrated and the difficulties faced by reciprocal trade were examined. The program constituted a useful background for the changed situation brought about by the outbreak of war in Europe. It is to be hoped that separate detailed reports of all of these conferences will be forthcoming as in the case of the "Conference on Bibliography and Research Materials in the Field of Latin-American Studies."

The Institute was a successful pioneering enterprise viewed in retrospect. If held again, as planned, the experience gained and the greater interval of time for preparation, should produce even better results. It was a strenuous eight weeks for the members and staff, but, if the pace was swift, it was not exhausting; although the writer feels that the limits of profitable utilization of time were reached. The relatively neglected field of Portuguese America in language, literature, art, music, and history was emphasized, as it deserved to be, in this first Institute. It is to be expected that further programs will swing the spotlight of attention to other aspects of the field. All who attended, this reporter feels, benefited and came away convinced that noteworthy results in teaching and research would be realized and that a more substantial approach to a cultural understanding in the Americas was stimulated.

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## THE HISPANIC FOUNDATION IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress is the most recently created center in the United States for the study of Hispanic culture both in the Old and in the New World.

The Foundation owes its origin to the establishment in 1927 of a generous fund for the purchase of new books by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, the founder of the Hispanic Society of America in New York City. In the words of the donor "the books purchased shall relate to Spanish, Portuguese, and South American arts, crafts, literature and history only." Since the creation of this fund, the Library has acquired each year about two thousand books published in the Hispanic world within the ten years preceding the date of purchase. This limitation of the fund, stipulated by the donor, has served to encourage youthful authors just entering upon their careers, for often these purchases of their first works have served later to make their names known in this country. Through the operation of the Huntington Fund and guided by the Consultant in Hispanic Literature, Dr. David Rubio of the Catholic University of America, and his predecessor, the Library has for the last ten years been performing a cultural undertaking of real importance.

A year ago an anonymous friend generously provided funds for its suitable housing within the building of the Library of Congress. The distinguished architect, Paul Philippe Cret, designer of such monuments as the Pan-American Union, and the Folger Shakesperian Library, was commissioned to create a setting of Hispanic origin which should tend to withdraw the reader from the present to the past ages of Spanish and Portuguese culture.

Indeed, that is precisely the impression that the visitor has on entering the rooms of the Hispanic Foundation. In an atmosphere of cloistered quiet and serenity he beholds an interior whose details carry out faithfully the style of the Siglo de Oro. First, one enters a vaulted vestibule of ample proportions lighted by a splendid silver chandelier which is an original example of the *mudéjar* style of Toledo. In this room against a background of armorial tapestries and rich furniture, special exhibitions are held.

From the vestibule the visitor enters the main reading room, a gallery of some 130 feet in length. A lofty frieze records the names

of great historic and literary figures of the different Hispanic countries. There Cervantes stands beside Camoes, Magellan beside Columbus. Loyola, El Cid, López de Vega, Calderón and Bolívar are also there. In Latin-American letters such great figures as Gonçalves Dias, Bello, M. A. Caro, Sarmiento, Icazbalceta, Ricardo Palma, Rodó, Medina, Montalvo, Heredia and Darío are represented. Immediately adjacent to this room are some one hundred thousand Hispanic volumes which can be consulted there and in the wood-panelled alcoves above it. About the lower walls runs a dado of soft blue tiles from Puebla in Mexico, there are curtains of golden brocade at the windows and about the alcoves and balconies—which are of fine wrought iron. Delicately colored leather chairs complement the silvery tonality of the woodwork. A marble tablet which commemorates this splendid gift completes the room, standing between two doors of Spanish design which lead to the administrative offices.

Adjacent to the Hispanic Foundation, a reference room is being arranged, where general works of reference, dictionaries, and current Hispanic periodicals and newspapers will be available for consultation by the general public. Individual studies are here available for mature scholars pursuing special researches. Already the Foundation has been host to three specialists from Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, respectively, and we hope that such visits will, in the future, be made with increasing frequency.

On July 1 the Foundation was opened to readers and a modest staff was organized for administrative purposes. Dr. David Rubio, who has been the Consultant in Hispanic Literature since 1931, was appointed Curator of the Hispanic Collection. Dr. Lewis Hanke of Harvard University was designated as Director of the Hispanic Foundation. Dr. Robert C. Smith of the School of Fine Arts of the University of Illinois subsequently joined the staff as Assistant Director.

Located in Washington, which has become the diplomatic center for the Spanish-speaking world, the Hispanic Foundation is constantly in touch with the leading personalities in the scholarly and political worlds of Latin America, Spain and Portugal, both in their own countries and when they visit the capital of the United States. The Foundation possesses already a goodly working collection for Hispanic studies which is supplemented by certain rarities within the field which are housed in the various special divisions of the Library. For example, the Rare Book Room possesses many Hispanic items of real importance. There is a copy of one of the earliest books known to have been printed in Mexico City by Juan Pablos, a Christian



Doctrine for the first bishop, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, printed in 1544, and some fifteen other sixteenth-century Mexican items, including the rare book on navigation, the first of its kind in the New World, written by Diego García de Palacio and published by Pedro Ocharte in Mexico in 1587. A copy of what is probably the first book printed in South America, a catechism published in Spanish and in two Indian dialects by Antonio Ricardo in Lima in 1585 is also kept here. Among its notable collection of pamphlets relating to the Dutch West Indies Company in the New World, there is a mysterious *Brasilsche gelt-sack* of 1647 which may be the first printing in Brazil. There is also the extensive Henry Harrisse bequest containing the interleaved and profusely annotated copies of the writings of that eminent American bibliophile on the Columbus period. Finally, the John Boyd Thacher Collection of autographs contains signed letters of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V, the Empress Isabella, and other Spanish sovereigns. It also includes nine Spanish incunabula and an incunabulum from Portugal, as well as the second book printed in Spain, a Latin Sallust published in Valencia in 1475, a Spanish edition of Seneca's Proverbs, which came from the press of Antonio de Centenera at Zamora in 1482, a folio volume of the *Cura de la piedra . . . y cólica rrenal*, by Galiano Gutiérrez, a rare work on the diseases of the bladder, printed by Peter Hagemback of Toledo in 1498, and *Los Doze Trabajos de Hercules* by Enrique de Villena de Aragón, from the first press of Juan de Burgos, 1499.

The Division of Manuscripts contains its own Hispanic treasures. Outstanding are two early sixteenth-century manuscripts—the Columbus Codex, a book of privileges granted to him, written down at Sevilla with an authentic and contemporary transcript sent to Ferdinand and Isabella of the celebrated Bull *Dudum Quidem* of Alexander VI, 26 Sept., 1493); and the so-called Sneyd Codex, a part of the John Boyd Thacher Collection, which is the first Venetian report on the discoveries of Columbus and the Portuguese navigations to India. There is a 1547 Mexican treatise on the native languages, a Cortés letter of five years previous, written to Charles V, advising that the Indians of Mexico be put under the protection of the Crown.

In 1929 a valuable collection of Hispanic material was presented to the Library by Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York, comprising a mass of early manuscripts relating to the first two centuries of Spanish-American history. The distinguished historian, J. Franklin Jameson, has described the collection in the following terms:

“The Mexican papers, the earliest of which is dated in 1525, only five years after Mexico was won for Spain on the plain of Otumba,

have a certain degree of unity in that most of them are connected to some extent with the house of Cortés, many of the documents having arisen from the state trial of Martín Cortés, son of the conquistador. The Peruvian documents are more miscellaneous; in fact, extraordinarily varied in character. There are few aspects of the early history and life of Spanish Peru which are not illuminated in one or another of these thousand and odd documents, extending in date from 1531 to 1651 (with one additional document of 1740). Aside from a certain number of *cédulas* of Charles V and Philip II, they originated in Peru. Most of them are original, preserved by notaries, while notarial copies were sent to Spain. They come from persons of all sorts, from the Pizarros and Almagros, the viceroys and bishops, down to secretaries and merchants, pilots, and sailors, schoolmasters and widows. They include decrees and proclamations of viceroys, orders and instructions of officers to subordinates, contracts and agreements, commercial accounts and letters, minutes of municipalities, manumissions, and many other varieties of documents. . . .

“A few specific instances may illustrate the richness of this collection. For example, besides the long series of documents of the Pizarros and Almagros which show the processes of the conquest of Peru from 1531 on, there is the claim put forward by Diego Almagro the younger on account of the killing of his father. There is the imposing tailor’s bill of Hernando de Soto. There is the long protest (1554) of some sixty of the chief notables among the conquerors against the new ordinance restricting personal services from the Indians which had been promulgated by Charles V, under the influence of Bishop Las Casas. There are the record books of two Andean frontier communities, begun in 1538 and 1539 respectively. There are provisions regarding protection against the ‘Lutheran corsairs’ of Francis Drake and the services of Indian runners to give warnings of his approach. There are announcements of royal endowments of the University of San Marcos at Lima and of provision for a chair of Indian languages, with injunction that priests and missionaries must learn the language of their flocks. In short, all the round of human life in old Peru finds illustration in this collection.”

In 1914 the Library of Congress began a program of copying manuscripts in Spanish archives and libraries relating to the history of the United States, and, more particularly, to the former Spanish possessions within our borders. Through subsequent grants this program has been broadened to include many special aspects of Hispanic research, and the Library now possesses an outstanding collection of

photostats of documents from the principal archives of Spain, Mexico, and Argentina.

Finally, there is a special collection of Portuguese manuscripts. It is notable for the richness of its material on the Military Orders and on Sebastianism, that mystic cult that obstinately denied the death of Don Sebastião on the battlefield of Al Kasr al Kebir, maintaining that he still lived and would return at some future time to restore the past greatness of his country.

In the Division of Maps is preserved one of the monuments of Hispanic cartography—the manuscript Atlas of the World, completed by the royal Portuguese map-maker, João Teixeira, in 1630. It contains secret maps of the Americas and the Indies. There are also rare portulan charts of the coasts of Central and South America, cartographic manuscripts from the Royal School of Navigation at Cádiz (375 manuscript maps and charts, 1712-1824, depicting various portions of Hispanic America and the former Spanish possessions in this country), Vopel's manuscript 4-inch globe published in 1688; and one of the so-called buccaneer's atlases, made about 1690, showing the coast of western South America. Another important nucleus for Hispanic studies is the Woodbury Lowery Collection of over 300 maps relating to the former Spanish possessions in this country.

Among the more isolated and relatively unknown special collections of the Library of Congress are the Ladino books in the Division of Semitic and Oriental Literature. This material, written in the Judaeo-Spanish vernacular of the Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century and printed in the Rashi or Rabbinic Hebrew characters, is partly composed of Bible translations, liturgical, and rabbinical works, among which are some early editions. For the most part, however, the collection consists of modern belles-lettres. The Library is eager to add to its books in this field, and is already receiving a current weekly periodical, *La Vara*, published in New York City.

The Division of Orientalia, the largest deposit of Sino-Japanese material outside the Orient, is rich in books printed in Chinese by Portuguese missionaries at Macao and other cities of the Orient. The Library consultants in Islamic and Indic studies stand ready to assist the researches of scholars in the Oriental aspects of Hispanic culture.

The Division of Documents maintains a system of exchange of government publications with all the Hispanic nations. An attempt has been made to obtain complete sets of all recent government gazettes, debates of parliamentary bodies, *memorias*, bulletins, and special publications of government departments and academies and deliberations



of provincial assemblies from the nations of Latin America. The resulting collection is probably unrivalled in this country, as are also the files of early government gazettes from Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, and elsewhere in Latin America.

The Law Library, another of the separate divisions of the Library of Congress, has made a special effort to secure a complete collection of outstanding books and legal journals pertaining to Hispanic culture. Inasmuch as Hispanic scholars have earnestly devoted themselves to the law since the time of Saint Isidore, in the eighth century, this task is a considerable one. The Law Librarian, however, is particularly interested in this field and, with the aid of a special fund available for the purchase of legal materials, has already been able to make the Law Library one of the significant centers for the study of Hispanic law.

Among the outstanding items is the first law book published in the Americas, compiled by a Spanish official engaged in administering Spain's vast empire, the famous *Cedulario* of Vasco de Puga, which appeared in Mexico in 1563 as one more of the notable products of the typographical skill of Pedro Ocharte.

Many editions of the fundamental Spanish law code, the *Siete Partidas*, are also found in the Law Library, including the first 1555 edition of the gloss of Gregorio López.

A collection of notable materials usually leads to publication and in the past the Law Library has issued guides to Spanish law as well as to the law of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The Law Librarian has recently published a solid volume on "The Background of Hispanic American Law" and has now in preparation a guide to Mexican Law. It is expected that other legal publications will result as scholars continue to tap this rich source for the study of Hispanic law.

Finally, the Division of Music possesses a notable corpus of early printed material on Spanish and Portuguese music, original scores by Latin-American composers Jacopo Fischer, and Francisco Casa Bona, and manuscript transcription of Manuel de Falla's music by Miguel Llobet. The Division has also a rapidly growing collection of phonographic disks of Latin-American folk music and a fine auditorium in which, through the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundations, concerts are held regularly. In certain of these concerts the Library's Stradivari instruments are used. Special attention is often paid in these concerts to the masterpieces of Hispanic music.

The Hispanic Foundation has as its principal function the creation of an unsurpassed collection of published material pertaining to Spain.

Portugal and the countries of Latin America. In this task we shall call for the advice of specialists within the Library and in the learned societies, libraries and universities throughout this country and the Hispanic lands. The Foundation, in spite of its constant purchases of books and periodicals from Latin America, Spain, and Portugal, cannot hope, however, to have a complete record of all contemporary publications, without the active assistance of the authors themselves. Many important articles and monographs are submerged in magazines and newspapers little known to us, or are published in widely dispersed centers. The Foundation has, therefore, adopted the policy of requesting writers to send copies of their works to the Library of Congress, where they become integral parts of the Hispanic Foundation. A box will be provided for each author wherein his separate articles in newspapers and periodicals will be kept. With the friendly aid of all authors who concern themselves with Hispanic studies, it is expected that this collection of scattered contributions will provide a unique and increasingly valuable corpus of material.

Two special aims that the Foundation cherishes are the creation of a comprehensive Hispanic catalogue and the building up of an extensive photographic archive of Hispanic culture. The first of these, the catalogue, will require many years to prepare, but when completed will constitute an essential tool for scholarly work in this field. It will analyze the whole Hispanic collection of the Library of Congress. The catalogue will consist of two sections separately installed. The first will be an author index catalogue, listing all the works of a given author followed by the biographical and critical works pertaining to him. The problem of analyticals will be attacked and when completed, the catalogue will furnish a record of all articles by or pertaining to a given writer which may have appeared in commemorative volumes, literary and historical reviews and other types of composite publications. The second unit will be a complete subject index catalogue in which all that has been written on a given subject, including analyticals, will be grouped together, as for example, the arts in Minas Geraes, Gaucho literature, or silver production in Peru. The value of this Hispanic catalogue to scholars who come to visit the Library can scarcely be overestimated. It will show at a glance what the Foundation possesses in relation to the rest of the Library of Congress. It will facilitate immeasurably the work of Hispanic scholars and should serve, together with the completeness of the collections, to attract them to the Foundation. It is hoped that the other institutions will avail themselves as time goes on of this thorough catalogue by means of the purchase of duplicate cards.

The second long range objective of the Foundation, the photographic archive, will be expanded to include all such aspects of Hispanic culture as folk art, furniture, costume, religious customs and, in the case of Cuba and Brazil, the diversified crafts of the Negro. But principally it would comprehend the Fine Arts in Spain, Portugal and Latin America. Special emphasis would be placed on the gathering of photographs from the two latter regions, for so little attention has as yet been paid to them by art historians. The archive of Hispanic photographs would serve as a basic source of reference for scholarly investigation and research in a field in which at the present they are lamentably wanting, but which is among the richest of artistic provinces. The scope of the undertaking would be so inclusive as to embrace all periods from the earliest productions through the Baroque or colonial epochs, down to the present day. In the case of Latin America, special attention would be paid to the artistic connections with the mother countries and an effort would be made to establish the indigenous influence in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress is still a very youthful organization. Its purpose is just beginning to be known throughout the Americas. With the proper support from the people of this country and those of the Hispanic world, with their sympathy and participation in its work, it should come to be one of the principal forces for the preservation and dissemination of Hispanic culture.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

Hispanic Foundation,  
Library of Congress.

#### DEDICATION OF THE HISPANIC ROOM IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

On the occasion of the dedication of the Hispanic Room of the Library of Congress, the Hispanic Foundation distributed a little booklet entitled *The Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress*. Much of the information contained in it is offered to readers of the REVIEW in the article by Mr. Robert C. Smith. There are some excellent plates showing the physical aspects of the room and illustrating the architect's excellent and appropriate taste. In other paragraphs there is a survey of the various Hispanic collections in the Library of Congress, now in charge of the Hispanic Foundation as an administrative unit.

Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, rendered the occasion of the opening of the Hispanic Room memorable with a beautifully



written preface to the undertaking which the sponsors modestly chose to call "remarks." Notable in the remarks was the note of dignity with which Mr. MacLeish insists, even in these times, upon clothing the human spirit. But scarcely less notable was his demand that America occasionally look at itself through American as well as European eyes. The growing body of American experience is not only large enough to influence American life; it is large enough to house properly and to collect with conviction! That the object of the Foundation should be the "greatest collection of Hispanic literature and scholarship ever gathered in one place," is more a fulfillment of an obligation to the Americas than a boast.

The Hispanic Foundation is under the direction of Mr. Lewis Hanke. The energy and resourcefulness of this young Hispanist have been made well known through the *Handbook of Latin-American Studies* and various monographs on sixteenth-century theorists and theories. American scholars will wish Mr. Hanke Godspeed.

#### REVISTA DE ECONOMÍA Y ESTADÍSTICA

Under the direction of Benjamin Cornejo, the School of Economic Sciences of the National University of Córdoba has begun the publication of a review dealing with economics and statistics. It is designed, "although not exclusively, to bring to light the writings and investigations of the Escuela de Ciencias Económicas in the University of Córdoba." A publication of scientific and informative bent and, at the same time, the official organ of the Instituto Universitario Argentino, "it aspires to serve the interests of the country, giving preference to the particular problems of our economy and to contribute, through impartial and objective discussion of theoretical problems, to the progress of economic science among us." The University of Córdoba has for many years been one of the most active and intellectually productive universities in South America. In the favorable atmosphere of Córdoba Dr. Cornejo, whose work on the advancement of economic studies in the Argentine has been tireless, has established a worthy vehicle. Its first articles fulfill both the special and theoretical qualifications laid down in the original policy of the journal.

#### JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS

The announcement of the appearance of the *Journal of the History of Ideas* will be of immediate concern to a number of American Hispanists. Now that the systematic, rather than the hearsay, approach

to the study of Spanish colonial culture has arrived, it will be found that there are many untreated or unsettled themes in Hispanic-American history which would fit nicely into the program of this *Journal*. Such attention might be paid under the avowed objective of treating "neglected but historically significant writings and ideas of minor as well as major figures in the history of thought." The philosophical revolutions of the national period should also be recommended to the attention of the editors.

This publication is devoted to intellectual history, but with natural emphasis upon the inter-relations of the history of philosophy, literature and the arts, of the natural and social sciences, of religion and political and social movements. The editor of the new review will be Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins University. Associate editors will be Professors Crane Brinton (Harvard), Gilbert Chinard (Princeton), Morris R. Cohen (Chicago), Francis W. Coker (Yale), Richard P. McKeon (Chicago), Marjorie H. Nicholson (Smith College), J. H. Randall, Jr. (Columbia), J. Salwyn Schapiro (College of the City of New York), Louis B. Wright (Huntington Library). The plan is to bring out the first issue by January, 1940. All communications concerning the project should be addressed to Mr. Philip W. Wiener, Managing Editor, College of the City of New York, Convent Avenue and 139th Street.

#### LATIN-AMERICAN EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS OF THE JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

The granting of Latin-American exchange fellowships to four Mexicans, four Argentines, three Cubans, and two Chileans was recently announced by Mr. Henry Allen Moe, Secretary-General. As is usual, the bulk of the fellowships went to scientists who are eager to survey or take advantage of technical equipment in the United States. This is in contrast to the exchange fellows of the United States sent to Latin America, for their interests are more often those of art, literature, and history. The selections of Latin Americans this year, however, include three painters, one philosopher, and one historian.

Dr. Silvio A. Zavala Vallado, whose presence in the United States during the last year has enriched Hispanic studies here, has been re-appointed to continue in the Library of Congress his studies of forced labor in the Spanish colonies.

The Foundation has also announced the extension of its fellowships to include Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay. Candidates for appointment

selected from these countries will be announced for the first time next spring.

### ANNUAL LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

The Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has announced that in the future responsibility for the publication of the annual List of Doctoral Dissertations in Progress at American Universities, formerly published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, will be assumed by the American Historical Association. Theses in Hispanic-American history, however, are systematically listed in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* every three years.

### LATIN AMERICA IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The Archivist of the United States announced in August the appointment of Ralph G. Lounsbury, formerly assistant professor of history at New York University, as a consultant in Latin-American affairs in the Division of Reference. At the same time it was announced that records from more than thirty diplomatic and one hundred and fifty consular posts in Latin America, Europe, and the Indian Ocean area, in pursuance of a four-year program begun in 1938 to transfer all such records to The National Archives, had been brought to Washington. Thus investigators will be able to supplement the records of the Department of State, although use of the papers post-dating 1906 will be restricted. A significant moment in the history of archival science came with Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd's presentation of 380,000 feet of motion-picture film portraying his two Antarctic expeditions to The National Archives.

### CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE AMERICANISTAS

The twenty-seventh session of the Congreso Internacional de Americanistas was held in Mexico City from August 5 to 15, 1939. The president of the Organizing Committee was Dr. Alfonso Caso, while the Secretary-General was Professor Miguel Othón de Mendizábal. The sessions of the congress amply illustrate the richness of American subjects in Mexico and the serious way they are being undertaken. The sections of the congress laid out in the program included anthropology, physical anthropology, pre-history and archaeology, methodology and nomenclature, linguistics, social anthropology, current problems of the indigene and Negro in America, and history.



Among the anthropo-geographical problems with which the conclave grappled were the natural routes of ethnic migration and cultural diffusion, and recent investigations concerning the antiquity of man in America. Human remains on both sides of Bering Strait, the results of studies on pre-Columbian osteological material, and similar subjects, filled the agenda of the physical anthropologists. The program ran the whole gamut of difficult questions, which demand co-operation for solution, in the various fields treated. The keynote of the history meeting was the degree of Hispanization of indigenous populations in the colonial period. Each section closed its program with the theme of bibliography, cartography, organization of archives and methods of investigation. This concentration upon the organization of intellectual materials of all kinds, which has marked learned gatherings in both the United States and Hispanic America in the last five or ten years, indicates that the systematic international use of documentation of all kinds in America is no longer a forlorn hope.

The officers of the Mexican government, such as the Secretary of Foreign Relations, Ing. Eduardo Hay, and Licenciado Gonzalo Vázquez, Secretary of Public Education, added the dignity of their hospitality to the occasion. The type of active leadership in the various groups is illustrated in the name of Ing. Pedro C. Sánchez (anthropo-geography), Dr. Manuel Gamio (social anthropology), and Professor Luis Chávez Orozco (history). Details and booklets of the congress can be obtained by writing the Secretary-General, Secretaría de Educación Pública, Argentina y González Obregón, México, D. F.

### CONFERENCES ON CULTURAL INTERCHANGE

Early in October the Secretary of State, Hon. Cordell Hull, issued invitations to distinguished individuals in various cultural and intellectual fields to attend a series of conferences to be held in Washington during the months of October and November. These meetings are an outgrowth of the establishment of the Division of Cultural Relations in the State Department. Although devoted to cultural relations throughout the world, the Division is admittedly devoting especial attention to the development of more effective relations with the other American Republics. The purpose of the conferences, far from any desire to curtail public and private agencies already engaged in cultural and educational work, is to make the Department of State a center of coördination for the work and to extend the good offices of the government. Thus the conferences will acquaint individuals and agencies with the methods through which the Department can

make their activities more effective, and at the same time appropriate the counsel of those assembled. The conferences are as follows:

October 11 and 12—Art.

October 18 and 19—Music.

November 9 and 10—Education.

November 29 and 30—Library Matters and the Exchange of Publications.

Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, and Ben M. Cherrington, Chief, Division of Cultural Relations, are coöperating in connection with the meetings on education.

#### THE *SOCIEDAD COLOMBISTA PANAMERICANA* AND THE EXPEDITION OF THE ADELANTADO HERNANDO DE SOTO

In 1936 the Sociedad Colombista Panamericana of Havana reached an agreement to commemorate the disembarkation in North America of the discoverer of the Mississippi. The celebration took the form of another expedition, this time of representatives of cultural, economic, and social life from the Caribbean countries through the universities, manufacturing, cultural, and agricultural centers of the states of Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The project enjoyed the official sanction of the President of the United States and the President of Cuba and had as its primary purpose the promotion of cordial inter-American relations.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF LUIS GONZÁLEZ OBREGÓN

Don Luis González Obregón (b. 1865), one of Mexico's most distinguished men of letters, recognized at the time of his death as the dean of Mexican historians, has, in the course of a very active lifetime, turned his hand successfully to many fields. Literary research, bibliographical studies, *cuadros de costumbres*—all can be found among the many titles in his bibliography. He is known for his special interest in the colonial period of Mexico.

In 1925 *El libro y el pueblo* published a bibliography of his works upon which the following compilation is based. Don Luis made some corrections and additions to the 1925 bibliography and I have added many more items, particularly articles from magazines and *prólogos* to various books. In a letter which he wrote to me in 1936, Don Luis speaks of the publication of his recent book, *Croniquillas de la Nueva España*, "al que seguirán otros tres, intitulados respectivamente: *Cronistas e historiadores*, *Novelistas mexicanos y Ensayos históricos y biográficos*,<sup>1</sup> con los cuales pondré punto final a mis tareas literarias de cincuenta años, que cumplí el año pasado".

The bibliography referred to above was divided into seven different sections and arranged chronologically within sections. The material as presented here has been rearranged with the object of making the bibliography more useful. The first section includes the most important part of his work: books, articles, and pamphlets. These are arranged alphabetically by title with all editions of a work grouped together. Cross references have been provided to important men and to titles of publications which appeared at different times under different titles.

Section II lists the *prólogos*, *juicios*, *cartas*, etc., found in the various books which Don Luis introduced to the public. Since these titles are meaningless in themselves, I have arranged them alphabetically under the name of the author of the book.

Section III contains book reviews arranged alphabetically and the necessary cross references to the authors whose books were reviewed.

<sup>1</sup> See Addenda, p. 000.



In some cases these items were later used as *prólogos* for the books discussed. This information has been added to the proper item in each case.

Section IV, compilations, editions, a translation and magazines (edited by Don Luis), is self-explanatory.

It should be stated that many of the magazines and newspapers in which the various works appeared are extremely hard to find and in many cases I have not seen the items myself. This accounts for the fact that some items are described by volume and number only, or by date only. All publications are understood to originate in Mexico City unless they are specifically described otherwise.

RALPH E. WARNER.

University of Colorado.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Anales</i> .....	<i>Anales del Museo Nacional de México.</i>
B.A.M.....	<i>Biblioteca de autores mexicanos.</i> Victoriana Agüeros, editor. 1896-1910. 78 vols.
<i>Bol. S.M.G.E.</i> .....	<i>Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística.</i>
Comp.....	compiler.
L.G.O.....	Luis González Obregón.
<i>Liberales ilustres</i> .....	<i>Liberales ilustres mexicanos de la Reforma y de la Intervención.</i> Edición y propiedad de Daniel Cabrera. Imp. del Hijo del Ahuizote, 1890.

#### I. BOOKS, ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS

1. *Acta de la inauguración de las obras del desagüe del Valle de México.* Imp. de Ignacio Escalante, 1900.

Printed in two colors with facsimiles of the signatures of those present.

2. Acuña, Manuel. See No. 92.
3. Ahuizotl. Aztec ruler of Mexico. See No. 122.
4. Alamán, Lucas. See No. 90.
5. *Album histórico gráfico.* Contiene los principales sucesos acaecidos durante las épocas de: Díaz, de la Barra, Madero, Huerta, Carbajal, La Convención, Carranza, De [sic] la Huerta y Obregón. Texto de Don L. . . G. . . O. . . y Don Nicolás Rangel. Fotografías y compilación por Agustín V. Casasola e hijos. 1921.

Four fascicules of 200 pp. each. The last two were solely the work of Casasola and sons.

6. Altamirano, Ignacio Manuel. See Nos. 71-72.
7. Alvarez, Juan. See No. 78.
8. Alzate, Antonio. See No. 52.
9. *Doña Ana María Gallaga.* In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. III, No. 23 (September 16, 1888), pp. 186-188.

Doña Ana was the mother of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.

10. *Los aniversarios del 16 de septiembre.* In *Independencia* (see No. 288), pp. 2-5.

11. *Anuario bibliográfico nacional*. (1888.) Por . . . Miembro de la "Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística," y socio fundador del *Liceo Mexicano*. Año I. Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1889. 155 pp.
12. *El año nuevo de 1649*. In *Revista de revistas*, January 4, 1925.
13. *Apuntes para la historia del periodismo en México*. In *Revista nacional de letras y ciencias*, Vol. I (1889), pp. 322-327.
14. *Un bautismo*. (Artículo de costumbres.) In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. V, No. 13 (April 15, 1890), pp. 100-102.
15. *Bellezas de México*. El bosque de Chapultepec. In *Revista universal*, New York, May, 1917.
16. *Bibliografía del Pensador Mexicano*. In *El libro y el pueblo*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-3 (1925), pp. 21-39.
17. *La Biblioteca Nacional de México*. Reseña histórica. 1833-1910. In *Bíblios*, Vol. I, Nos. 4-13 (February 8-April 12, 1919).  
*Bíblios* is now called *Biblos*.
- 17a. ———. . . 1910. (Printed in Barcelona.) 110 pp. + 1 l., with bibliography.  
At the back, a plan of the library. Reprinted from *Bíblios*.
- 17b. *The National Library of Mexico*. 1833-1910. Historical Essay by L. . . G. . . O. . . . Translated by Alberto M. Carreño. 1910. (Printed in Barcelona.) 110 pp. + plan.  
Introduction by Francisco Sosa.
18. *La biografía del insurgente Quintana Roo*, escrita por el licenciado [sic] Miranda y Marrón. In *El tiempo*, October 19, 1910.  
Open letter to M. . . y M. . . concerning his *Vida y escritos del héroe insurgente Licenciado Don Andrés Quintana Roo*.
19. *Biografías de los héroes*. In *Patria e independencia* (see No. 291), pp. 2-6.  
The biographies were unsigned.
20. *Breve noticia de los novelistas mexicanos en el siglo XIX*. In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. II, No. 7 (January 15, 1887), pp. 54-56; No. 10 (March 1), pp. 73-77; No. 13 (April 15), pp. 100-103; No. 17 (June 15), pp. 129-133.
- 20a. ——— Tip. de O. R. Spíndola y Cía., 1889, 62 pp.  
"Edición de 100 ejemplares numerados."
21. *Breve reseña de las obras del Valle de México*. Escrita expresamente para los delegados al Congreso Pan-Americano. Tip. de Francisco Díaz de León, 1901. 20 pp. + map.  
This work did not bear the writer's name.
22. *El cadáver del Pensador*. In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. III, No. 12 (April 1, 1888), p. 100.
23. *Las calles de México*. Leyendas y sucedidos. Imp. de Manuel León Sánchez, Sucs. 252 pp., 2 l. Illustrations.  
Colophon: Se acabó de imprimir esta 1a. edición el 22 de noviembre de 1922.
- 23a. I. ——— Leyendas y sucedidos. Segunda edición con prólogo y elogios de Don Carlos González Peña, Don Rafael López y del Lic. Artemio de Valle-Arizpe. Imp. Manuel León Sánchez. xxiii, 243 pp., 2 l.  
Colophon: Esta 2a. edición se acabó de imprimir a 13 de abril de 1924.
- 23b. ———. . . . Tercera edición. Con prólogo y elogios de. . . . Imp. Manuel León Sánchez. xxiii, 243 pp.  
Colophon: Se acabó de imprimir el 15 de junio de 1927.

- 23c. ——— *Vida y costumbres de otros tiempos*. Imp. de Manuel León Sánchez. 272 pp.  
*Juicio* by Luis G. Urbina. Colophon: Se acabó de imprimir el 5 de octubre de 1927.
24. *El Capitán Bernal Díaz del Castillo*, conquistador y cronista de la Nueva España. Noticias biográficas y bibliográficas. Ofic. Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1894. 88 pp., 2 l.
25. Castillo, Florencio María del. See No. 55.
26. *Doña Catalina Juárez*. In *México*, Año I, No. 1 (March 15, 1914), pp. 13-18.
27. *La ciudad colonial*. 1521-1821. First published under the title of *El México de los virreyes* in the *Pictorial Review*, New York, Vol. IX, No. 6 (September, 1921).
28. *El cocinero de Su Excelencia*. In *Cronos* (September 16, 1921). Previously published in the *Revista universal*, New York.
29. *Colección de cuadros de historia de México*. Librería de Herrero Hermanos, 1904.  
 With 20 drawings by Antonio Cortés.
- 29a. *Enseñanza objetiva*. Colección de cuadros de historia de México. Ilustraciones de Antonio Cortés. Texto explicativo de L. . . G. . . O. . . Herrero Hnos., 1905. 48 pp. + atlas.  
 Second ed. of *Colección de cuadros*.
30. *Conjeturas sobre quien pudo ser el autor de la "Guerra de los chichimecas" y texto de este Ms. hasta entonces inédito*. In *Anales*, Segunda época, Vol. I (1903), pp. 160-163, 164-171, 185-194.
31. Cortés, Hernán. See No. 150.
32. *Croniquillas de la Nueva España*. Andrés Botas, 1936. 224 pp.
33. *Cronología de los gobernantes de México*. Desde antes de la conquista, hasta nuestros días. In *Almanaque Bouret para el año de 1897*. Librería de la Vda. de C. Bouret, pp. 72-78.
34. Cruz, Juana Inés de la, Sor. See No. 77.
35. *Cuauhtemoc*. In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. II, No. 21 (August 15, 1887), pp. 163-164.
36. *Cuauhtemoc*. Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1922. 74 + (3) pp.  
 "Edición de 500 ejemplares." At the back: Talleres Gráficos de *El hogar*.
- 36n. *Cuauhtemoc*. (Tradução de Isidoro Garcia Maciel.) Rio de Janeiro, Grande Livraria Editora Leite Ribeiro, 1922. 30 + (12) pp.  
 At the end: *Discurso del Dr. José Vasconcelos*.
37. *Los chichimeca*. In *El educador práctico ilustrado*, Segunda época, Año III, Vol. I, No. 6 (1888).  
 Signed: Luis Rey.
38. *Los chismes del pueblo*. In *El liceo mexicano*, Vol. I, No. 17 (October 1, 1886), pp. 131-134.
39. *Del México de antaño*. A collection of 20 articles published in *México* from January 12 to June 16, 1917.
40. *De otros tiempos*. A collection of 27 articles published in *El universal ilustrado* from June 22, 1917, to August 2, 1918.



41. Díaz, Porfirio. See No. 135.
42. Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. See Nos. 24, 118, 146.
43. Díaz Izaga, Pedro. See No. 129.
44. Doblado, Manuel. See No. 93.
45. *Documentos de historia patria*. El General Guerrero y Picaluga. In *Anales*, Segunda época, Vol. II (1905), p. 57.
46. *Documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia*. Cartas inéditas de Don Pedro Moreno, en contestación a las que le fueron dirigidas por varios individuos del partido realista. Oficina Tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1891. 33 pp.
- 46a. ———. . . . Suplemento de *El faro*. Tip. El Faro, 1897. 31 pp.
47. *Documentos para la historia de México*. (Defensa de D. Jacobo Villaurrutia contra las acusaciones de D. Juan López de Cancelada, que lo calificaba de traidor y partidario de la Independencia.) In *Revista nacional de letras y ciencias*, Vol. III (1890), pp. 210-236.
48. *Éfemerides histórico-biográficas*. Para el 2o *Almanaque de Bouret*. Paris, Mexico, 1897.  
Notes for the *Santoral* of the *Almanaque*.
49. *Enseñanza objetiva*. See No. 29a.
50. *Un episodio del sitio de Cuautla* (El niño artillero). In *Episodios históricos* de la guerra de independencia relatados por Lucas Alamán, J. M. Lafragua, . . . Imprenta de "El Tiempo," de Victoriano Agüeros, 1910. Vol. I, pp. 223-226.
- 50a. *El sitio de Cuautla*. (De un libro inédito que se titulará *Vida de Morelos, según sus contemporáneos*.) In *Gladios*, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2 (1916), pp. 70 and 156.  
Another edition of *Un episodio*. . . .
51. *Época colonial. México viejo*. See Nos. 102-104.
52. *Un escrito inédito del Padre Alzate*. In *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica Antonio Alzate*, Vol. IX (1897-98), pp. 283-307.
53. *Espanoles distinguidos en la historia de México*. De la conquista a la intervención. In *Arte y letras*, Año VI, No. 128. Número dedicado a la colonia española. (September 5, 1909.)
54. Fernández de Lizardi, José Joaquín. *El Pensador Mexicano*, pseud. See Nos. 16, 22, 74-76, 131-133, 152-153.
55. D. Florencio María del Castillo. (1828-1863.) In *Liberales ilustres*, pp. 163-166.
56. *La fortuna del Maese Roa*. In *Adelante*, Mérida de Yucatán, July 28, 1917.
57. D. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. Sabio arqueólogo y lingüista mexicano. In *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Vol. XII, No. 6 (October, 1918-March, 1919).
58. Gallaga, Ana María. See No. 9.
59. García, Genaro. See No. 61.
60. García Icazbalceta, Joaquín. See No. 163.
61. Genaro García, *su vida y su obra*. In *México moderno*, Vol. I (1921), pp. 356-364.
62. González, Joaquín V. See No. 165.
63. Guerrero y Picaluga, General. See No. 45.

64. *D. Guillén de Lampart. La inquisición y la independencia en el siglo XVII.* Paris, Mexico, Librería de la Vda. de C. Bouret, 1908. 3 l., 439 pp. Illustrations.  
[Carta] by J. M. Vigil.
65. Guzmán, León. See No. 85.
66. Hernández y Dávalos, Juan E. See No. 117.
67. *Heroínas de la independencia.* In *Episodios históricos*. . . . Vol. I pp, 259-269. Cf. No. 50.
68. Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel. See Nos. 112, 121, 147.
69. *La historia de una encomienda en el siglo XVI.* In *México moderno*, Vol. I (1920), pp. 154-158.
70. *El homenaje de "El tiempo" a los héroes y caudillos de la independencia.* In *El tiempo*, September 4, 1910.  
Letter to Victoriano Agüeros.
71. *Ignacio M. Altamirano.* In *Bol. S.M.G.E.*, Cuarta Epoca, Vol. II, Nos. 11 and 12 (1893), pp. 724-743.  
The title page of Vol. II is dated 1894; the individual issues are for the year 1893.
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84. *Las lenguas indígenas en la conquista espiritual de la Nueva España*. Discurso leído por su autor en su recepción de individuo de número de la Academia Mexicana, Correspondiente de la Real Española. Imp. de Manuel León Sánchez, 1917. 14 double-column pp.
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86. León y Gama, Antonio. See No. 119.
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*Parecer de un devoto amigo del autor* by Salvador Cordero. *Retrato del autor*, poem, by Rafael López.

Colophon: A 25 días andados del mes de julio e año del Señor Nuestro Jesu Xpto. de mill e novecientos e diez y siete: acabóse de imprimir esta obra llamada Vetusteces en la muy noble e leal Cibdad de México. . . .

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281. Valle-Arizpe, Artemio de. See No. 265.
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285. *France*, Anatole. *Abeja*. Translated by . . . for the *Revista nacional de letras y ciencias*, Vol. II (1889), pp. 94, 172, 251, 283, 347, 396 and 433.
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288. *Independencia*. Folleto ilustrado. Morín y Cía., editores. Lit. Montauriol, Sucs., 1893.

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Vol. 2 contains a *prólogo* by Luis G. Urbina. Cf. Nos. 23 to 23c.

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Talleres Gráficos Linomex, S. A.

*Novelistas mexicanos*. José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (El Pensador Mexicano). Ediciones Botas, 1938. 223 + (6) pp.

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#### ERRATA

On page 311 in Mr. A. S. Aiton's edition of the Coronado document line 21 was lifted up in the process of composition and substituted for the proper reading of line 7. On page 377 in Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick's article, *Repartimiento-Encomienda*, line 38 was caught up and substituted for line 33. Therefore, on page 311, line 21, which reads "trabajo e proyvido en nonbre de vra mag que ninguno saque . . .," should read "trabajo moderado como en dalles bien de comer y de vestir a. . . ." On page 377, line 33, which reads "rrepartimiento de Calamares en término de La Paz po su vida; se . . .," should read "repartimientos not commended to individual Spaniards are held by. . . ."

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